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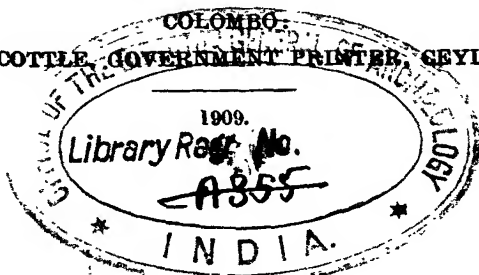
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JOURNAL  
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THE ORIGIN OF THE TAMIL VELALAS.<sup>1</sup>

Translated by V. J. TAMBIPILLAI.

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[*Note by the Translator.*—This essay was composed in Tamil by the learned sub-editor of “Shen-Tamil” (the organ of the Tamil Sangam at Madura), Mr. M. Raghava Iyengar, and read by him on May 25, 1906, on the occasion of the great Annual Meeting of the Pundits of the Madura Tamil Sangam, the late lamented Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, B.A., B.L., of the Postal Department, Madras, being in the chair.

Every effort has been made to adhere strictly to the style and even the idiom of the original, except where a free rendering appeared to be necessary in order to bring out the exact meaning. I have added also, here and there, a few explanatory notes, which will, perhaps, be of some use and interest to the reader in following the arguments of the learned author.—V. J. Tambipillai.]

It may sound strange, indeed, to the ears of some that whatever share of the glory of fostering Shen-Tamil<sup>2</sup> may have belonged to the Cheras,<sup>3</sup> the Pandiyas, and the Cholas,

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<sup>1</sup> [The Editing Secretary is in no way responsible for the acceptance of this Paper.]

<sup>2</sup> Pure, unmixed Tamil.—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> The Cheras, the Cholas, and the Pandiyas were the three most powerful of ancient Tamil kings. Their houses are supposed to have become extinct many centuries ago.—V. J. T.

there existed in former times, side by side with these, a community claiming, if not a greater, at least certainly an equal share of that glory. To those, however, who have an intimate acquaintance with old Tamil authors, this information will not be surprising. Upon inquiry conducted with regard to truth, it will become evident that the exceeding greatness of the position held by this community (in Tamil literature) was equalled only by that of the Tamil culture created by the triple kings<sup>1</sup> of the south. I refer above to a section of the ancient Tamil community known by the appellation of "Velir."<sup>2</sup> The larger number of "the last seven great Vallals"<sup>3</sup> of the Tamil country belonged to this race, and such was their munificence, it is said, that it obviated further begging on the part of those who had but once been the objects of it. It was to one of these seven great Vallals that the sacred poet<sup>4</sup> referred when he sang: "He will not give who has not the mind to give, even if one should call him Pari." Who was that prince of givers whose unrivalled reputation as a patron of the Tamil bards of his time drew upon him the jealous hatred<sup>5</sup> of the three kings? Except some general information, we have, as yet, very little knowledge in detail as to the origin and history of this important community.

<sup>1</sup> The Cheras, the Cholas, and the Pandiyas.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> "Velir" is the plural form of "Vel." "Velalas" is only another form of it. The agricultural class among the Tamils are called by this name.—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> A person of lavish munificence is, in Tamil, called a "Vallal." The Tamil chiefs Ay, Pekan, Ori, Malayaman, Elini, Pari, and Nalli are known as "the last seven Vallals" of the Tamil land, and they lived about the time of the last Tamil Sangam held at Madura about twenty centuries ago.—V. J. T.

<sup>4</sup> Sundarar, a Sivite saint and poet, who lived in the 9th century A.D.—V. J. T.

<sup>5</sup> "Vel Pari was the ruler of a petty principality called 'Parambu.' He was a bold and gay adventurer, simple-hearted and generous, and passionately fond of poetry. Every wandering minstrel was welcome in his mansion. The sons of song were nowhere petted and feasted as they were in Pari's palace. They found in him a union of all those virtues which they loved to praise in their rhapsodies: reckless courage, lavish liberality, and a gaiety which no reverse could check. He soon became their idol, and his fame spread throughout Tamilakam. The bards recounted, in glowing language, in the courts of the Chera,

Is it not a sacred duty of the sons of the Tamil land to take a small fraction of the interest, at least, in the Velir, which they evince in the study of the Cheras, the Pandiyas, and the Cholas as the great patrons of their national tongue in the past? It is, of course, to be admitted that the materials now available are scarcely so abundant as to secure a high degree of success in this investigation. Neither old books, nor writings of any other sort, chronicling the traditional history of the Vels, exist to-day, a few odes, or lines of poetry, composed and sung by some of the old Tamil bards in praise of their patrons, and which appear included in the anthologies<sup>1</sup> compiled by the last Tamil Sangam at Madura, being almost the sole accessible sources of light we have at present on this subject. Hardly possible as it is, then, to compile anything like a history of the Vels from these isolated and scanty materials, we shall, nevertheless, endeavour, with the help of such light as we possess, to explore, as best we can, the gloomy cell of their distant past, and lay before the public whatever discoveries we may chance to light upon.

In old poetical works in Tamil, then, a community called "Velir" is often mentioned side by side with the three great powers of the south, viz., the Cheras, the Pandiyas, and the Cholas. In "Purrananooru,"<sup>2</sup> "Pathittupaththu,"<sup>3</sup> &c.,

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Chola, and Pandiya, the princely hospitality with which they were entertained by Pari. This excited the jealousy of the three kings, and they sent their forces to besiege Parambu. The defiles of the mountain passes with which Pari's followers were familiar were strictly guarded by them, and Pari, by his personal bravery, maintained, for some days, an unequal contest with the large and well-equipped army that surrounded him. At length, the enemies forced their way up the mountain and attacked Pari, who was killed in the encounter."—*Vide* "The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago," pp. 104, 105.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> The works referred to are "Akam," "Purram," "Nattinai," "Kurantokai," "Pathittupaththu." &c., some of which have lately come out in print.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> "Purrananooru," or "Purram," as it is sometimes called, is a collection of 400 odes composed by about 180 poets.—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> "Pathittupaththu" consists of ten poems by ten different poets. These works seem to be compilations from the works of the early Tamil poets which have long since become extinct.—V. J. T.

for instance, we find such passages as the following, viz.: "The renowned Venthar<sup>1</sup> and Velir," "the Venthar and Velir," "the Velir and the two great Venthar," &c. From these references, in which the "Velir" almost always appear in company with the three paramount rulers of Tamilakam,<sup>2</sup> it may fairly be concluded that, next to the kings themselves, the most honoured amongst the petty rulers and princes of the country were the chiefs of this "Velir" race. Moreover, the references to this people found in Tamil works as "the very ancient Velir" and the Velir who boasted of "an ancestry of forty-nine generations" must be held to imply that their settlement in South India dated from very ancient times.

Now, who were these "Vels," and what was their primitive habitat? Were they the kith and kin of the primitive Tamils, or foreign immigrants, of a later period? What is their place in the history and chronology of South India?

The learned Naccinarkiniyar,<sup>3</sup> in his commentary on the preface to "Tolkappiam,"<sup>4</sup> notices some of the traditions

<sup>1</sup> Kings.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> The Tamil country. This is identical with the "Limirike" (Damirike) of the Greek writers Periplus and Ptolemy.—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> "The commentary of Naccinarkiniyar is the best and latest of all the existing commentaries on the grammar of Tolkappian. He was a learned Jain Brahman, and seems to have mastered Tamil and Sanscrit, and by writing commentaries on many great and important Tamil works has done a service to Tamil literature which Madhava-carya and Mallinathasuri have done for Sanscrit. In the colophons to the commentary, he is said to have been a native of Madura and born of the Bharadwaja gotra.

"There is a tradition which makes Naccinarkiniyar an elder contemporary of Parimelalagar, who, in his commentary on the 'Kural' of Tiruvalluvar, refers to a Bhoja king of Dhara who lived in the 11th century A.D."—*Vide* Report on a Search for Sanscrit and Tamil Manuscripts for the Years 1893-94, by M. Sheshagiri Sastri, M.A., Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, and Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras, No. 2. pp. 107 and 110.

Recent researches have definitely fixed the 11th century A.D. as the upper limit of the period of this author.—V. J. T.

<sup>4</sup> "Tolkappiam" is the oldest Tamil grammar now extant. It was composed by a Brahman named Tolkappian, who lived, according to

current in the Tamil country in the remote past concerning the origin of the primitive " Vels " as follows, viz. :—

<sup>1</sup> "The gods assembling said among themselves, ' We being all gathered here in one place (on Mount Meru), Meru has gone down (by our combined weight), and the south has gone up, Agastiyar alone (amongst us all) is competent to reside in the south (in order to preserve the balance of the earth), ' and so they entreated him ; and he also consenting, went to Dwarapati, <sup>2</sup> and taking along with him the eighteen

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Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, not earlier than the 3rd century of our era. The traditions, however, make him a contemporary of the Rishi Agastiyar of Vedic fame. The author above referred to has not given his reasons for assigning to him a later date.—*Vide* " Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago," p. 116.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> The following is a somewhat different reading of the same passage as quoted by the learned Shehagiri Sastri, M.A., viz. :—

" All the gods who had assembled on Mount Meru requested Agastiya to go to the south and remain there to keep up the balance when the whole earth had bent on the southern side owing to the weight of all the gods. Before he went to the south, Agastiya went to the Ganges and received the river Kaviri from her. He then proceeded to Jamadhadhagniyar (Sans. Jamadhagni) and got from him Tirunadhumagniyar (Sans. Tranadhumagni), who was Tolappian himself. He married Lopamudraiya, who was given to him by her brother Pulathiyana (Sans. Pulastya). He went to Tuwarapati (Sans. Dwaraka) and took the eighteen kings of the line of Krisna, the Velirs of the eighteen families, and Aruvalars. He denuded the country of its forests, and made it inhabitable. He settled on Mount Pothiya, and having defeated Ravana by his skill in music, freed his habitation from the incursions of the Rakshasas."—Report on a Search for Sanscrit and Tamil Manuscripts for the Years 1893-94, No. 2, p. 109.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> Same as Dwaraka. Its Tamil form is " Dwarai " or " Dwarakai." The reference to Ravana has, obviously, no connection with the context. Nachchar makes the same remarks in his comments on " Madura Kanchi." If the Ravana here referred to is identical with the Ravana slain by Rama, there is no reason for introducing him here after the time of lord Krishna.

The above observation obviously ignores the fact that the Puranic legends represent Ravana and Agastiyar, not only as contemporaries, but also as relatives, the latter being, according to one account, an uncle of the former. The " Ramayana " also makes Agastiyar a contemporary of Ravana, and makes express reference to the existence of the Pandiyan kingdom at the time the epic was composed.—V. J. T.



kings of the line of 'the supreme lord<sup>1</sup> who measured the earth with one foot,' together with eighteen crores of Vels and their dependents, and Aruvalar, migrated to the south, and depriving Ravana of his sovereignty over the Rakshasas by his superior skill in music, clearing the country of its forests, and making it fit for human habitation, finally took his abode on the hill of Pothiyil."<sup>2</sup>

What is apparently deserving of consideration in the above account is the information that the Muni Agastiyar<sup>3</sup> went to Dwarapati, and led from there a colony composed of kings and Vels of the race of Sri Krishna, to the south, and permanently settled them there. These traditions, though agreeing generally with the Puranic accounts of the migration of the Muni Agastiyar to South India, in their specific reference to his (*i.e.*, Agastiyar's) being accompanied by many kings and princes of the family of Sri Krishna, are entirely missed in the latter (*i.e.*, the Puranas). Be this as it may, it is noteworthy that our learned author once again refers, as follows, to the same story—as if to confirm his first statement—in his notes on another Sutram<sup>4</sup> of "Tolkappiam," namely:—

"The right to rule belongs also to the Vels of the eighteen

<sup>1</sup> This refers to Krishna as an incarnation of Vishnu. "According to Hindu mythology, Bali was an Asura emperor who, through his devotion and penance, defeated Indra, humbled the gods, and extended his authority over the three worlds. In order to restrain him, Vishnu, who was appealed to by the gods for protection, assumed his fifth incarnation, the form of a Brahman dwarf, the Vamana Avatara, and appearing before Bali, asked for only three paces of ground as a boon—which was granted. As the water conveying the gift fell into his hand, the dwarf's form expanded till it filled the world, and Vishnu, now manifesting himself, deprived Bali, in two strides, of heaven and earth, but on account of the virtues the latter possessed, left Patala, or the infernal regions, still in his dominion."—"Mysore Gazetteer," by R. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., M.R.A.S., p. 301. See under "Mahavalis."—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> A hill near the extreme south of the peninsula.

<sup>3</sup> "Muni" means "an ascetic."—V. J. T.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* "Tolkappiam," chapter on "Poruladhikaram." The Maha Bharata frequently refers to "the eighteen clans or tribes of the Yadavas."—V. J. T.

"Aruvalar was the local name of the Naga tribes who inhabited Aruva and Aruva-Vadathalai (*i.e.*, North Aruva). The two provinces,

tribes or gotra whom the great Mathavan <sup>1</sup> (i.e., the ascetic) of Malaya <sup>2</sup> brought along with the Narapatis <sup>3</sup> of the line of the Supreme Lord who measured the earth with one foot."

In the second passage the tribe of Aruvalar is omitted, while the Narapatis and the Vels are again mentioned as descended from the race of Sri Krishna, divided into eighteen tribes or clans, and entitled to the right of ruling. As Nachchar <sup>4</sup> makes this assertion, not once but twice, it seems a fair conclusion that there must have existed, in his day, sources of information on this matter which have, since then, disappeared. Unfortunately for us, however, he has not given us the authorities on which he relied in making these statements. Moreover, does not the statement sound astonishing that these

Aruva and North Aruva, were together known as Mavilankai or the Great Lanka. The capital of this province was Kachchi, the modern Kanchipuram. The whole of this country was inhabited by the Aruvalar, a nomadic tribe, who were also called Kurumbar. It was the Chola king, Karikal the Great, who first settled these wandering tribes."—"The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago," pp. 27, 44.

It is the opinion of Dr. Gustav Oppert that "Kuru" is the original form of the name "Kurumbar," which has also other forms, such as "Kurbar," "Kuruvar," &c., of which "Korama," "Kuruciyar," and "Kunbi" are but variants. The shepherd Kurumbas were very influential during the days of the Vijayanagara dynasty, the foundation of which is attributed to a Kuruba noble. The shepherd Kurumbas still call themselves "Yadavalu," i.e., Yadavas. That the Kurumbas held, like the Velir, the position of petty kings in the Tamil country is proved also by the following passage in "Divakaram," viz., "Velir, Purochar, Arattar, and Kurumbar are names of petty kings."

Again, the Kurubas of Mysore are known as "Cunabis" and "Rud-dies,"—which fact connects them with the "Rattas" of Manyakheta, who were Yadavas. The dynasty of Vijayanagara is said to be an offshoot of the earlier royal family of Tuluva, i.e., the Kadambas. Moreover, the words "Kurumpan" and "Kadampān" are, in Tamil, interchangeable, being vocables of the same meaning.

The above facts seem to show that the now much despised Kurubas are of high origin, being the modern representatives of the Aruvalar of the Tamil records.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> An ascetic.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> The Southern Ghats, but the peak of Pothiyil is here referred to.—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> "Narapatis" means "kings" or "rulers."—V. J. T.

<sup>4</sup> An abbreviated form of "Naccinarkinmyar."—V. J. T.

Vels of the Tamil country were of the same race to which Sri Krishna belonged? We propose, therefore, to use the information handed down by Nachchar as the first stepping-stone in our inquiry, and investigate whether this account of the Vels is so supported from any other quarter as to give it the status of genuine history.

If the Vels were, as stated by Nachchar, the kindred of Sri Krishna, who ruled over Dwaraka in olden times, we may safely say that they were Yadavas. For it is admitted on all hands that the tribe to which Sri Krishna belonged were all descendants<sup>1</sup> of "Yadu," and of the Lunar Vamsa, or race. If, then, the Vels were Yadavas who emigrated in

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<sup>1</sup> "Yadu" was the eldest son of "Yayati" (by "Devyani"), one of the ancestors of the Pandavas. His family, increasing and multiplying, branched off into numerous separate clans, which gave birth to many distinguished kings. Thus, Sahasrajit, the eldest son of Yadu, was the founder of the Haihaya family, to which the great conqueror Kirta Viriya Arjuna belonged. The Thalajangas were also a section of this race. The most distinguished among the descendants of Kuroshtaka, the second son of Yadu, were Chashibindu, Chiyamaha, and Vidarba, from the last of whom the Vidarba family originated. The Chedi family originated from the third son of Vidarba. From Satuwika, a descendant of the second son of Vidarba, the Bhoja, Andhaka, and Vrishni families originated, and it was in the family of the Andhakas that Kannapiran (i.e., lord Krishna) incarnated.

According to the Vishnu Parva of the "Harivamsa," Yadu was born of the Solar race. It says that Harjashya, king of Ayodhya, of the Solar race, married the daughter of Madhu, king of Madhuvana (i.e., Mathura), and begat Yadu, from whom the Yadavas were descended.

It is stated in the "Ramayana" that Lavana, son of Madhu, a relative of Ravana, was ruling in Madhuvana at the time of Rama, and that Satrugna, younger brother of Rama, defeated him, and built the city of Mathura on the banks of the Yamuna. This story, considered together with the account given in the "Mahabharata" that Yadu was the progenitor of the Rakshasas, establishes a significant connection between the Yadavas of the classics and the despised aborigines of India, i.e., the Yakshas and the Rakshasas.

The following is the genealogy of the Yadavas, as given in the Puranas :—

Chandra (Moon) begat Budha, Budha begat Ila, Ila begat Pururava, Pururava begat Ayu, Ayu begat Nahusha, Nahusha begat Yayati, Yayati begat Yadu, and Yadu was the progenitor of the Yadavas.

On reference to the genealogy of the Solar race, it will be found that Nahusha" appears in it as one of the ancient kings of that line also,

ancient times from Dwaraka, some notices of this fact must occur, in all probability, in old Tamil writings. But as no Tamil books of such ancient date as the times of Sri Krishna now exist, we are not likely to succeed in discovering any contemporary record of the event in the mass of Tamil literature now available. In the absence of any record of a contemporary date, it is a matter for which we ought to be very thankful that there are, at least, a few lines in some of the extant compositions of the poets of the last Sangam<sup>1</sup> at Madura which throw a good deal of light on the origin of the Vels. The following is an extract from an ode composed by a poet named "Kapilar" in praise of one of the Vel princes of his time named "Irung Ko<sup>2</sup> Vel," viz. :—

"Thou, thou art the Vel of the Vels who, originating in the sacred thadavu of a Muni in the north, boast of a pedigree of forty-nine generations of Vels, since ruling over Dwaraka, glittering like gold, and surmounted by its copper fortress."<sup>3</sup>

According to the above passage the Vels were, originally, the ruling race of Dwaraka, who moved down to the south

and it may, therefore, be concluded that the Lunar race was, in reality, only an offshoot of the older Solar dynasty. This accounts, perhaps, for the fact that, while the Cholas claimed to be of the Solar line, the Pandiyas of Mathurai traced their descent from the Moon. It has also to be noted that there was a dynasty of Solar Pandiyas who held sway in various parts of South India in ancient times.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> "The language and literature were under the Pandiyan kings the special charge of an academy of poets and savants analogous to the Académie Française, and the three epochs of the Academy called the First, Second, and Third Sangams are the great landmarks in ancient Tamil history. The literature of the first two epochs has perished save one work, a grammatical work called 'Tolkappiam,' and which is to Tamil what 'Paniniyam' (Ashtadhyayi) is to Sanscrit. The loss of the literature is attributed to the destruction by the sea at successive periods of the two earliest Pandiyan capitals, old Madura and Kapadapuram. Of the works of the third period which have survived the best known is the 'Kural' of Tiruvalluvar, a poem of singular literary and ethical value which has been translated into most of the European languages."—*Vide* "Report on Ceylon Census, 1901," vol. I., p. 80, para. 28.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> "Ko" means "a king."—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* "Purrananooru," ode No. 201.—V. J. T.

in later times, and founded kingdoms for themselves in the Dravida<sup>1</sup> country. We have now to admit that the statement of Nachchar concerning the origin of the Vels receives full confirmation, in one important point, from a classical authority of the first rank.

Although the fact that the Vels were settlers from Dwaraka is supported, as shown above, by a classical authority of great weight, it will be difficult to cite any passage from the Tamil classics to prove that they belonged also to the Yadava race.<sup>2</sup> But we may call in the help of the Puranas here. These state that the descendants of "Yadu" first settled in the regions watered by the Ganges; that, in course of time,

<sup>1</sup> "Dravida" is the name by which the Tamil country and people are known in Sanscrit literature. "Dravidam" means also the Tamil language, and is, evidently, a corruption of "Tamilam," its present form being "Tamil."—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> If "Yadava" be the ancient name of the Tamil Velalas, it appears to me to be most strange that it does not occur either in the Tamil books or in the traditional recollections of the agricultural Tamils. May not the difficulty be explained away by supposing it to be a Sanscrit equivalent of a Tamil name?

The Yadavas appear in the "Maha Bharata" under more than one appellation. They were called "Suras," "Somakas," "Madhus," "Vrishnis," &c., and these names, apparently, convey the same meaning. It will be admitted that the words "Yadu," "Madhu," and "Sura" are synonyms, and mean "toddy" or "palm-wine." Can it be that the Yadavas were a toddy-drawing race, and hence their names, such as the "Suras," "Madhus," &c.? The Puranic story, that they were so called on account of their being descended from a progenitor known by the name of "Yadu," is easily explained as an invention of later philology.

In modern Dravida there are several tribes whose principal occupation is that of cultivating palm trees and extracting toddy from them. Now it is remarkable that a Vel prince by the name of Vel Avik Ko Perum Pekan, or The Great Vel King Pekan of the race of Aviyar, is mentioned in old Tamil literature as a great patron of Tamil poets. Paiki or Paika is the name of the highest section of the Todas of the Nilgiris, as well as of a section of the people occupying the Nagar Malnad of Canara. Another tribe occupying the district on the north of Hanovar, also in Canara, is known as Kumara Paika. The "Paikas" are also found in Vizagapatam and Orissa, those of the former country being known also as "Sandi." These races of "Paikas" are all, it has to be noted, toddy-drawers by profession, although they are agriculturists to a greater or less extent.

their race having become very numerous, Sri Krishna,<sup>1</sup> in order to further its prosperity, led a large colony of it to the shore of the western ocean, founded Dwaraka, and clearing the jungles and forests of the surrounding districts, and preparing the ground for cultivation and human residence, settled his Yadava followers on them, and himself ruled over the new kingdom. From the "Maha Bharata" we also learn that, shortly before the death of Sri Krishna a civil war broke out,<sup>2</sup> and raged among the Yadavas of Dwaraka, in which large numbers of them perished, while, of the rest, the majority left for other places; and that the districts to the south of the Godaveri were largely inhabited by the Yadavas. From these accounts it is obvious that the Yadavas were a race fond of colonizing, that they originally inhabited<sup>3</sup> the Gangetic regions, and that thence they removed to that part of India now known as Maharashtra. If the above have any foundation in fact, it is nothing incredible that the Yadavas, who so settled in Maharashtra, should have, as time went on,

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The Tamil records mention also another Vel prince who belonged to the Aviyar race, who was the lord of Pothiyil, the traditional seat of the sage Agastiyar, I mean the prince "Ay Andiran," one of the last seven Vallals of the Tamil country.

From the above it is clear that there were sections of people whose occupation was mainly that of preparing intoxicating beverages for the use of the liquor-loving Yadavas, and who, nevertheless, belonged to the very race to which the Tamil Vels belonged. In fact, the words Ilar, Cherar, Konkar, Yadavar, and Surar are only different designations of the same class of people, and are so strictly synonymous that they can be used interchangeably with the utmost freedom.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> Krishna and his clansmen were, at first, settled in the kingdom of Mathura. But, subsequently, through fear of the Magadha king, Jarasandha, father-in-law of Kansa whom Krishna had slain, they fled towards the west, and founded Dwaraka.—*Vide* "Maha Bharata." "Sabha Parva," chap. XIV., slokas 48-55.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> An account of this civil war is given in the "Mushala Parva" of the "Maha Bharata." The origin of the war is attributed to drunkenness, to which they had become so fatally addicted that Krishna was obliged to pass a law enforcing capital sentence on all those found drunk.—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> The Velalas were called Gangakula or Ganga Vamsa, because they derived their descent from the powerful tribe of Gangaridæ which inhabited the valley of the Ganges, as mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy.—*Vide* "The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago," p. 114.—V. J. T.

moved down further south, and taken possession of the forest tracts of the Tamil country. Although no direct reference is to be found in the Sanscrit works to the emigration of the Yadavas to South India, it seems but fair to take the above meagre, but clear, hints as, at least, an indirect allusion to that event. I would here draw attention to what a modern writer of world-wide reputation has written on this matter. The learned Romesh Chunder Dutt, in his "Civilization of Ancient India," writes<sup>1</sup> to the following effect, viz.: "The Yadavas who acknowledged the leadership of Krishna quitted Mathura,<sup>2</sup> and founded a colony in Dwaraka in Gurjara;<sup>3</sup> they did not, however, stay there for a long time; fighting among themselves, most of them quitted Dwaraka, and voyaged to other places by sea, and those who thus left Dwaraka are believed to have reached South India, and founded a new kingdom there." It is easy to see how closely this tallies with what Nachchar has recorded concerning the primitive Vels. If it be said, however, that Mr. Dutt's statement may have been based, possibly, on what some South Indian author or writer had previously published, it must suffice to answer that no South Indian writer has as yet advanced the opinion that the Vels were Yadavas by race. The conclusion seems inevitable, therefore, that the learned historian has relied upon some oral or written traditions current in North India, corresponding to that current in the south. Our commentator's account of the ancestors of the Tamil Vels being thus corroborated by an independent writer of admitted scholarship, it may fairly be conceded that it is, at least, not open to any serious objection.

But there is another proof that the Vels were settlers from the north, and members of the Yadava race. Many of us are, perhaps, aware that a line of rulers known as "Hoysalas"<sup>4</sup> to their contemporaries, invading Mysore about nine hundred

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<sup>1</sup> Dutt's "Ancient India," p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Now called "Muttra" in Northern India.

<sup>3</sup> Guzerat.

<sup>4</sup> For an account of this dynasty, please see "Gazetteer of Mysore," by Lewis Rice, "Historical Period." The Hoysalas belonged to the Ganga Vamsa.—V. J. T.

years ago, conquered, and ruled over it, from their capital which they named "Dwarasamudra."<sup>1</sup> They were natives of Gurjara, and Yadavas by race. They were also known as "Belalas" to the Canarese. That these "Belala" kings were invaders from Gurjara, and of the Yadava Vamsa, are facts of history. The resemblance between "Belala" and the Tamil name "Velala" is a significant fact that we should keep in mind in this inquiry. Moreover, a city founded by these Belala Yadavas is still known by the name of "Velur" or "Velapuram."<sup>2</sup> We may gather from these facts that, although the Hoysala Yadavas were, in Canarese, called "Belalas," the correct form of their name is that found in common usage among the Tamils, viz., "Velala," and that the name "Vel" found in the old Tamil classics was, also, used to designate them. The learned Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, B.A., B.L., in his most valuable work entitled "The History of the Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago,"<sup>3</sup> though not calling the Tamil Velalas and the Belalas of Dwara-samudra, Yadavas, has, nevertheless, treated them as belonging to the same race.<sup>4</sup>

There is yet another fact that leads us to believe that the Belalas of Dwarasamudra and the ancient Vels of the Tamil country were members of one and the same race. I have elsewhere referred to an old Tamil bard who speaks of "Irung Ko Vel" as a descendant of the Vels who originally ruled in Gurjara. This bard, in both his odes in praise of the Vel chief, calls him by the name "Pulikadimal,"<sup>5</sup> which the commentator of "Purrananooru" passes over without saying

<sup>1</sup> This is situated in Mysore.

<sup>2</sup> This is now known as "Halabidu."

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* "Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago," p. 114. The Bellal dynasty which ruled over "Gangavadi" is identical with the Hoysalas.—V. J. T.

<sup>4</sup> "In the Canarese country the Velalas founded the Bellal dynasty, which ruled that country for several centuries. A portion of Mysore which was peopled mostly by the Velalas was called Gangavadi in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. Another dynasty of the kings of this tribe which ruled Orissa in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was known as the Gangavamsas."—V. J. T.

<sup>5</sup> The Mal or lord who killed the tiger.—V. J. T.



anything more as to its meaning, or origin, than barely stating it to be one of that chief's names. Even the Sangam literature now accessible does not afford us any clue to the discovery of the reason of this name as applied to the Vel prince by the poet Kapilar. In these circumstances, it must be a matter of extreme interest to us that a story, related about the old Belala princes of Mysore, furnishes us with a very satisfactory explanation of its origination, and establishes beyond doubt the racial identity of these two great peoples. It has been already mentioned that the Belalas of Dwarasamudra were called also the "Hoysalas." In the history of the kings of Kongu, as well as in English books of recent dates, the origin of the word "Hoysala" is thus explained, viz.: "While Tabangar, an ascetic, was performing his penances in a forest, a tiger, appearing suddenly, was about to spring upon him, when the terrified ascetic seeing 'Sala,' a prince of the Yadava race, who had just arrived there on a hunting excursion, called upon him to slay it, and he, obeying the Muni's order, instantly shot it down with an arrow. On this account it was that his (*i.e.*, Sala's) descendants were called 'Hoysalas' <sup>1</sup> in the Canarese language."<sup>2</sup> This story does certainly contain, it appears to me, the true solution of the origin of the name "Pulikadimal,"<sup>3</sup> applied by the Tamil bard to Irung Ko Vel, whose ancestors also, like the Belalas of Dwarasamudra, were originally natives of Gurjara. Is it not because these princes were descended from a common ancestor who risked his own life by fighting a tiger single handed

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<sup>1</sup> "Hoysala" is said to mean "kill, Sala," in Canarese.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lewis Rice gives a somewhat different version of the same legend. "Going one day to worship Vasantika, his family goddess, whose temple was in the forest near Sasakapura, his devotions were interrupted by a tiger which bounded out of the jungle glaring with rage. The yati or priest of the temple snatching up a salaki (a slender iron rod) gave it to the chief, saying in the Karnatika language, 'Hoy, Sala' (strike Sala), on which the latter discharged the weapon with such force at the tiger as to kill him on the spot. From this circumstance he adopted the name Hoysala, formed from the words of the yati's exclamation, and the dynasty so called and descended from him had a tiger as the device on the flag."—*Vide* p. 335, "Mysore Gazetteer," see under "History."—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* "Purranānooru," ode No. 202.—V. J. T.

in order to save the life of a weak and helpless ascetic who had appealed to him for protection that they were called "Hoysala" and "Pulikadimal"—names implying, or explained, as it can be distinctly seen, by that story? These facts put together obviously constitute an irresistible array of evidence that the Tamil Velir of two thousand years ago, and the people called by the Canarese "Belalas" of nine hundred years ago, were identical by race, rank, and name, and belonged to the Yadava race of ancient India.

We shall now inquire into the history of the names "Vel" and "Velala," by which the Yadavas of ancient Tamilakam, and the Yadavas of Dwarasamudra, were respectively called. Among the old dynasties which held sway over the countries lying to the south of the Vindhya there was one known as "the Chalukkyas,"<sup>1</sup> whose primitive country was Gurjara and the districts immediately to the south of it. At first they established their sovereignty in the western portion of the Deccan. But later, a branch of them took possession of the countries on the eastern coast, and also ruled over some portions of the south. In order to distinguish the one from the other, the senior branch of the Chalukkyas was called "the Western Chalukkyas," and the junior branch "the Eastern Chalukkyas." Of these, the Chalukkyas who ruled over a portion of the Tamil country would appear to have been known to the old Tamil authors as "Velpula Arasar," i.e., the kings of Velpulam,<sup>2</sup> or the Vel country. In the Tamil lexicon "Divakaram," for instance, we find the following passage, namely: "Velpula Arasar Chalukku Vendar," which means "Velpula kings are identical with the Chalukku monarchs." As "Divakaram" was compiled under the patronage of "Ambarkilan Chendanar," whose praises are said, in the lexicon itself, to have been sung by the poetess "Auvvaiyar" of the

<sup>1</sup> For a brief history of the Chalukya dynasty please refer to "Gazetteer of Mysore," by Mr. Lewis Rice.

<sup>2</sup> From this it will be seen that the country of Maharashtra was known to the ancient Tamils as "Velpulam." The tract about Balabhipura (in Kathiawar) and northward is termed "Bhal," probably from the tribe of "Balla."—*Vide* Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan," vol. I., p. 219. If "Venadu," i.e., "Vel Nadu" of old Tamil literature, was identical with the "Velpulam" or Vel country of the

last Sangam, it is clear that its compilation dates as far back as 1,800 years ago. Although no inscription of the Chalukkyas of a date anterior to the fifth century A.D. has as yet been discovered, the fact of their being mentioned in "Divakaram"<sup>1</sup> of the second century A.D. is to be considered a strong proof of their earlier existence as a ruling race. By "Velupulam" we ought to understand "Gurjara" and the adjacent districts, which correspond more or less exactly to the modern "Maharashtra," and it was, no doubt, because the

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Chalukkyas rulers, it seems an easy conclusion that there were extensive settlements of the Dravidian races in the peninsula of Guzerat and in Saurashtra in very ancient times. The learned author of the "Gazetteer of Mysore" has made the following interesting remarks, namely:—

"They (the Dravidians) may be identified with the Zend Turanians ('an' signifying God in that language) and with the maritime traders called 'Toursha' and 'Tursene' or 'Tyrrhenians' mentioned in Egyptian and Greek records. Their first great trading port was Dwaraka in the peninsula of Kathiawar, other exporting harbours being Surparaka at the mouth of the Tapti and Barygaza at the mouth of the Narmada. They made settlements at the holy island of Dilmun in the Persian Gulf and at Eridu near the mouth of the Euphrates." — *Vide* "Gazetteer of Mysore," p. 209.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> "Divakaram," the oldest Tamil lexicon now extant, was written by a Tamil noble called Sendan, chief of a place called Ambal. The popular opinion that it was written by one Divakaramuni, father of Pingalar who composed the Tamil lexicon bearing his name, viz., "Pingalandai," seems to rest on no solid foundation. The work is divided into twelve chapters, at the end of each of which there is a stanza praising the accomplishments and literary eminence of the author, Sendan, and in one of these stanzas it is expressly stated that the lexicon was composed by this learned noble. Not one of the twelve stanzas refer to Divakaramuni as the author of the work, which is very strange, and requires explanation if we are to suppose that he was the real author who compiled the lexicon. These stanzas are obviously later additions, and if we may assume that they were incorporated with the work by Divakaran, who possibly revised and edited it, the origin of the tradition associating his name with it is satisfactorily explained.

Pingalar was a son of one Divakarar, and wrote a lexicon which is extant, known as "Pingalam" or "Pingalandai." The late Mr. Sheshagiri Sastri, M.A., writes as follows as to the date of its composition, viz.:—

"He (Pingalar) mentions the word 'Pallava' among the synonyms of 'the mean,' from which we have to understand that, after the downfall of the Pallava kingdom at Kanchi, the Pallavas were so

Chalukkyas had come from this country, they were known as “Velpula Arasar,” i.e., kings of Velpulam, to the ancient Tamils.

It is now obvious why the Yadavas who settled in Tamilakam in very ancient times, and the Hoysala Yadavas of Dwarasamudra who arrived comparatively in recent times, were known as Vels and Velalas, respectively, to the older inhabitants of Dravida. The reason is that they were inhabitants of Velpulam<sup>1</sup> prior to their settlement in the south.

Not only are the kings of the Chalukkyas defined, as elsewhere mentioned, as “Velpula Arasar,” in the Tamil lexicons, but the name Vel also is expressly stated to have belonged to them, as will appear from the following passage in “Pinkalandai” :—

“Vel means either the slayer of Taraka,<sup>2</sup> the king of the Chalukkyas, or the god of love.”

It seems a legitimate conclusion, therefore, that it is because the Chalukkyas entered the Tamil country from Velpulam that they were called Vels. But we possess evidence to prove that they too were, like the Velir of Tamilakam, an offshoot of the illustrious race of Yadavas. It is a historical

persecuted by their enemies that the very name ‘Pallava’ became a synonym for ‘the mean.’ He also refers to the Chalukkyas kings. From these references we can infer that the lexicon was written after the overthrow of the ‘Pallavas,’ and after the establishment of the Western Chalukkyas kingdom about the 8th century A.D.”—*Vide* his Report on Manuscripts, No. 2, p. 119.

The lower limit for the period of Pingalandai may, I think, be fixed with tolerable certainty. The Tamil grammar “Nannul,” written by Pavanandimuniyar under the patronage of a king named “Siyagangan,” refers to Pingalam. If this “Siyagangan” may be supposed to be the same as the “Siyagangan” of the South Indian inscriptions, who was a contemporary of the Chola king Kulotunga III. (1178 A.D. to 1211 A.D.), the third quarter of the 12th century is the latest possible date that can be assigned to the lexicon in question.—*Vide* Epigraphical Reports, Government of Madras, Nos. 833, 834, Public, dated August 22, 1900.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> It is most interesting to note here that the “Mahavamsa,” the Sinhalese chronicle, states that Vijaya, the first Sinhalese king, and his comrades, were natives of Lada, or Southern Gujerat, and that they intermarried with the Tamils of the Pandiyan country.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> Kartikeya, or Skanda.—V. J. T.

fact that the Chalukkyas<sup>1</sup> inhabited primitively, as did the Yadavas of Tamilakam, the regions of the Ganges in the north, and their emblem,<sup>2</sup> agreeably with this fact, was the Gunga and the Yamuna, and they belonged to the Lunar race. Moreover, the appellation "Vallabha,"<sup>3</sup> frequently used for the Yadavas in "Vishnupuranam," appears appended to the names of the Chalukkyas rulers in their inscriptions, as in the names, for instance, "Pulikesi Vallabha" and "Kirti Varma Vallabha." This is a clear proof that the Chalukkyas were Yadavas by race. Further, the students of Indian archæology also say that the Chalukkyas were a branch of the Andhra emperors of ancient Maghada, who, it is held, were a mighty race even before the time of king Asoka, and that the Kalachuris,<sup>4</sup> the descendants of Vikramarka, the Kakatiyas<sup>5</sup> of Orissa, and the Yadava Narapatis of Vijayanagaram, were only offshoots of the same great Andhra race. If the Narapatis of Vijayanagaram, who called themselves Yadavas, were, as above stated, a branch of the ancient Andhra race, it follows then, as a logical sequence, that the Chalukkyas, who were also a branch of the Andhra race, were likewise Yadavas by descent. A proof still more convincing of the racial identity of the Vels of Tamilakam and the Chalukkyas, is

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<sup>1</sup> For a brief history of the Chalukkyas, please see "Gazetteer of Mysore," by Mr. Rice.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> The Gunga and the Yamuna were the emblems of the Guptas. The Chalukkyas defeated the Guptas in a pitched battle, and in memory of the great victory added the emblem of the conquered foe to their own, which was the figure of a boar.—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> "Vallabha" means those who roam about, "Vala-samvaranam," to come round. This appellation was given to the Yadavas on account of their roving habits after their herds of cattle in the various districts they had occupied.

<sup>4</sup> The Kalachuris were of Haiheya descent. According to the Puranas the Haiheyas were a section of the Yadavas. "Professor H. H. Wilson imagines them to be," says Mr. Lewis Rice, "a foreign tribe, and inclines with Tod to the opinion that they may have been of Scythian origin, and perhaps connected with a race of similar name who first gave monarchs to China."—See the "Gazetteer of Mysore," p. 274, "History, Legendary Period." The names Nissankamalla and Apratimalla occur among the names of these kings.—V. J. T.

<sup>5</sup> These kings ruled Orissa about 800 years ago, and were connected with the earlier Gunga dynasty of Mysore.—V. J. T.

furnished by the following account of the origin of the latter, which is given on page 339 of the second part of the first volume of the "Gazetteer of Bombay"—:

"In the north, an ascetic, named Harita Panchachika, was engaged in performing a sacrifice; and as he poured his oblations into the sacrificial hole, a king issued forth from his holy or sacred pot which, in Sanscrit, is called 'Chulukam,' and as he appeared in a 'Chulukam' he was called "Chulkan" by his contemporaries. But, in later times, his descendants, who were at first known as 'Chulukas,' came to be called 'Chalukkas,' 'Châlukkyas,' and 'Chálukkyas,' these names being only corruptions of the primitive form of their name."<sup>1</sup>

It is a matter over which we should heartily rejoice indeed that the above legend of the origin of the Chalukkyas is strictly identical with the story of the origin of the Vels of the Tamil

<sup>1</sup> Chalikyās, Chalkyās, Chalukkyās, and Chaulukyās. Tradition—as recorded in a stone tablet inscription at the temple of Lokesvaradeva, at Handarika, in the Haidarabad territories—states that the Chalukkyās sprang from a spray of a water-pot (Chulka, Chuluka, Chaluka) when Hariti, who wore five tufts of hair on his head, was pouring out a libation to the gods.—"Ind. Ant.," vol. VI., p. 74.

According to Bilhana, in his "Vikramankakavya," Brahma was once engaged in his *sandhya* devotions, when Indra came to him to complain of the growing godlessness on earth, and begged him to put an end to it by creating a hero who would be a terror to the evil-doers. On hearing this request, the creator directed his looks towards his *chuluka*, or water-vessel, and from it sprang a handsome warrior fit to protect the three worlds. From him descended the Chalukkyās. Harita was the first progenitor, and then Manavya arose.—"Ind. Ant.," vol. V., p. 317.

"I do not doubt," says Dr. G. Buhler, "that Chaulikyās (this form occurs in the inscriptions of the Gujarati branch of the Chalukyās) and Chalukyās are only dialectic variations of the same name."—"Ind. Ant.," vol. VI., p. 182.

It must be admitted, I incline to think, that the legend of the progenitor of the Chalukkyās issuing out of the sacred jar or pot of a Muni was originally suggested by the name of the tribe, of which those above noticed are modified forms, more or less, of a later date. The form "Chuluka" is, of course, very easily extracted, philologically, from "Chaulukya," but it does not occur in any of the Chalukya grants hitherto discovered. As it must be conceded, however, that the form of the name must have been such as to suggest the

country. This can be seen from the following extract of the ode sung by the bard Kapilar to which attention has already been drawn, namely :—

“Thou, thou art the Vel of the Vels who, appearing in the sacred Thadavu<sup>1</sup> of an ascetic in the north, count forty-nine generations of Vels, since ruling over Dwaraka, glittering like gold, and surmounted by its copper fortress.”

idea of a “jar-born” race for the Chalukkyas, it seems reasonable to infer that a word signifying “a jar” or “a pot” must have been present in the ancient form of the name. We have in Tamil the words “Chal,” “Chalikai,” and “Chadi,” all of which mean “a jar” or “a pot,” but it may be objected that the Chalukkyas being an Aryan race, any explanation based on the Tamil language cannot be held to meet the case. However this may be, the Tamil words above noticed cannot but strike any impartial judge as affording a key to the solution of the origin of the legend in question. There is also another account of the origin of the name Chalukkyas, which is that “Chalooka,” the progenitor of the Chalukkyas, was formed in the palm (chaloo, Tamil ചലൂ) of the presiding priest at the Fire Fountain, and his descendants were, on that account, designated “Chalukyias.” “Caluka” or “Culaka” signifies, says also Dr. Oppert, “a hollowed hand to receive water.”—*Vide* Tod’s “Rajasthan,” vol. II., p. 440.—V. J. T.

The Chalukkyas were known also as “Chaluvar” to the Tamils. from “Chaluvam” (*i.e.*, Salva, the northern part of Guzerat), the name of the country from which they came down to the south, *vide* Dr. Rottler’s Tamil-English Dictionary. The sage Agastiyar who is said to have accompanied the Pandiyan to Dravida was, no doubt, a distinguished scion of this race, as the story of his “springing from a pot” unmistakably indicates.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup>The commentator of “Purrananooru” interprets the word “Thadavu” not as meaning a pot, but a sacrificial hole, and so connects the Vels with the modern “fire races” of the north, namely, Cauhan, Caluk or Calukya (Solanki), Pramara, and Parihara. The caste of the Fire Races (called also Vanniyas or Agnikulas) in South India includes the Anuppar, Bailagar, Devadigar, Kallar, Maravar, Masadigar, Bantar, Mupar, Nattampadis, Padaiaichchis, Parivarams, Uppiliyar, Udaiyar, and Vanniyar. According to Lieutenant-Colonel Tod, the Agnikulas of Hindostan are identical with the Scythic race which invaded India two centuries before Christ.—*Vide* his “Annals of Rajasthan,” vol. I., p. 90. The Scythic race here referred to is, evidently, the “Sakas,” called also the Yuei-chi by the Chinese, who were the masters of Northern India in the first century A.D.

Drs. Gustav Oppert and Fr. Buchanan agree with Colonel Tod that the Agnikulas of India are of non-Aryan origin.—*Vide* “The Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha,” chap. VI., on the Agnikulas.—V. J. T.

Inasmuch as the designation of Vel, and the story of miraculous birth in the sacred pot of a Muni in the north, is thus seen to have been of common application to the Velir and the Chalukkyas, it is concluded that they were born of the same race, and offshoots of the Yadava class of it. The Puranas and the epics do not contain,<sup>1</sup> it is to be admitted, any passage referring to the birth of the first Yadava in the sacred pot of an ascetic (but this does not matter, as it does not affect our investigation). In addition to what has been said above, there is one more excellent proof of the racial identity of Vels and Chalukkyas. We learn from the Greek traveller Pliny that the Andhras were an imperial race about the commencement of the Christian era. Now, that it was to the Chalukkyas, who were a section of the Andhras, that the early Tamils gave the name Velir is proved by the name "Andiran" (அன்றிரன்), which is found applied to the great Vallal "Vel Ay" in the Tamil records. Assuming that "Vel Ay" was an "Andhra" by race, his designation "Andiran" (அன்றிரன்) can be easily explained as a modified form of "Andhran," especially as the word "Andiran" is perfectly meaningless in Tamil. To the ancient Greeks, the kings of the Andhras would appear to have been known as "Andorea"<sup>2</sup> (அன்றோர்).

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<sup>1</sup> The names "Kudamuni"—the pot-born ascetic—and "Kumbasambahva"—he who was born of a pot—assigned to the Rishi Agastiyar in the Puranic traditions, may well be taken to be a direct reference to this legend.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> In old Sanscrit literature the Andhras are spoken of as an impure tribe. In the "Aitareya Brahmana," for instance, the Pulindas, the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, and Mutibas are said to be the offspring of the cursed elder sons of Visvamitra, while, in "Amarakosha," the oldest Sanscrit lexicon now extant, the "Bheda, Kirata, Sabara, and Pulinda" races appear included among the "Mleccha Jatis." The mere fact of the Andhras being mentioned as a race of common origin with such admittedly aboriginal tribes as the Sabaras and the Pulindas affords strong ground for regarding them as a non-Aryan people. The Andhras were a race closely akin, I am inclined to think, to the modern inhabitants of Telingana, i.e., the Telugu country, which, as well as the language spoken there, is even now known as "Andhrām."

The kings of the Andhras call themselves "Haritiputras," i.e., "the sons of Hariti," in their inscriptions. "Hariti" is one of the progenitors of the Chalukkyas.



The facts above set forth demonstrate that the statement advanced by the erudite Nachechar, namely, that the community of Velir were the kindred of Sri Krishna, who quitted Dwaraka and settled in the south, is one that receives full and ample support from many well-known and authoritative sources.

Again, the Tamil classics state that the "Shen-Tamil" Nadu, *i.e.*, the country in which pure Tamil was spoken and cultivated, was surrounded by twelve Nadus, or countries, in which "Kodun-Tamil," *i.e.*, corrupt Tamil, was spoken, and that, of these, "Venadu" was one. I incline to think that this Venadu was no other than Velpulam,<sup>1</sup> the old home of the Yadavas, which has already been pointed out to be that part of the country lying to the north of what is now called Konkanam. That this country, *viz.*, Konkanam, was inhabited by a Tamil-speaking population in ancient times is established by the odes sung by old Tamil bards in praise of Vel Konkanam Kilan, some of which have luckily found place in the Sangam anthology of "Purrananooru."<sup>2</sup> As Venadu lay next to Konkanam, which was a Tamil country, bands of Tamils moved about and settled there, as may well be expected in course of time, and the Tamils who thus settled spoke a vulgar patois of their mother tongue—which was hence called "Kodun-Tamil" by the pure Tamil-speaking people of the extreme south. It has, therefore, to be supposed that, although Venadu, which belonged to the Yadavas,<sup>3</sup> was

The Andhras are called "Andræ Indi" in the Pentigerian Tables, and "Gens Andaræ" by Pliny.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> The Sanscrit pundits of old thought that there was no essential difference between the leading languages spoken in the countries lying to the south of the Vindhya. So they called the Tamil, the Andhra, Karnataka, Maratha, and the Gurjara languages as "the five Dravidas." It is, therefore, not improbable that Tamil was the original language not only of Konkanam but also of Gurjara. According to an address delivered by Mr. Kanagasabhai Pillai, B.A., B.L., before the Tamil Sangam at Madura in 1906, there were numerous Tamil settlements round about Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, about the 7th century B.C.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* "Purrananooru," odes Nos. 154, 155, and 156.

<sup>3</sup> It seems indeed very difficult to believe that the Pandiyas were, at any time, a people speaking any language other than Tamil. The

not wholly a Tamil-speaking country, the inhabitants of Shen-Tamil Nadu reckoned it to be a Kodun-Tamil Nadu on account of the prevalence of Tamil in some portions of it. "Venadu" means then, as above explained, "the Vel Nadu," or the Vel country, and not the "Ven" country, as later, or modern usage, would have it. How this error has occurred may be easily explained as follows; namely, Venadu is a compound Tamil vocable that may be resolved either into Ven and Nadu, or into Vel and Nadu. As later Tamil pundits adopted the former method of resolving the compound word, the use of Ven, in place of Vel, consequently got into Tamil literature.<sup>1</sup>

I now propose to investigate the date when the first ancestors of the Vels migrated from Velpulam and settled in Dravida. If it be true that it was, as indicated in the tradition mentioned by Nachchar, posterior to the age of Sri Krishna,

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district of Mathurai which formed the core and centre of the Shen-Tamil, *i.e.*, the pure-Tamil speaking Nadu or country, was always known as the first and most ancient seat of the Pandiyas in Southern India, and nothing but a reversal of the natural order of things could convert a colony of Sanscrit-speaking men and women into a population so jealous of the purity of a Mlechcha tongue, hated and despised as it must have been by the other members of their race, that that portion of the peninsula occupied by them came to be known, from very early times, as "the Tamil country" *par excellence*, and the kings who ruled over them as "the Tamil kings," whose pride it was to cherish the purest dialect of the ancient language of Southern India. But an examination of the facts of the case would clearly indicate that this is not the right solution of the problem. I have already referred to the fact that Agastiyar himself was a "Vel" by caste. He was also a relative, according to the Sanscrit Puranas, of Ravana, the Yaksha or Rakshasa king of Lanka. Moreover, the Sanscrit records state that "Yadu" was the progenitor of the Yadavas as well as of the Rakshasas. The Shanars of Tinnevely claim, till to-day, an ancient connection with the Rakshasas of Lanka, and as the Dravidian affinities of these people have never yet been questioned, it may fairly be concluded that the ancient inhabitants of Gurjara were Tamil people whose kings claimed descent from the sun and moon.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> According to the author of "The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago" Venadu meant "the bamboo land," from "Ven," *i.e.*, bamboo, with which it abounded, and lay to the south-west of Pandi-Nadu, between Periyar and Cape Comorin, and bordering on the Arabian Sea.—See chap. II., on "The geography of Tamilakam."

one may then safely state it to be later than the time of the Bharata war. We are also in possession of a few data that enable us to fix more definitely the chronological limits of this event. As already mentioned, the bard Kapilar, in the ode of his addressed to the Vel chief Irung Ko Vel, refers to him as the forty-ninth in descent from his ancestor who last ruled at Dwaraka. This is, evidently, what was generally known concerning the ancestry and origin of the Vel chief in the learned circles of the time of this poet. Now, by allowing a reasonable average length of time for each of the forty-nine ancestors of the Vel, it will not be difficult to calculate the approximate date on which his first ancestor set foot on the soil of the Tamil country. According to Vishnu and Matsya Puranas, thirty-three kings of the line of Pali-Puchchaka ruled over Aryavarta for 486 years, and ten kings of the Maurya line for 137 years. This yields an average of fifteen years for the kings of the former line and fourteen years for those of the second. Turning our attention to the ruling dynasties of other countries, say to the royal family, for instance, of Japan, which is, at this moment, the cynosure of the whole civilized world, we find that her present absolute ruler, Mutsuhito, is the 123rd in regular descent and succession from Jimmu Tenno, the first absolute monarch of the line, who flourished, according to the historical records of Japan, about 2,500 years ago. Now, by dividing 2,500 years amongst 123 rulers, an average of 25 years is obtained for each of the past kings of Japan. In the case, likewise, of the ruling houses of Europe, the cold climate of which is conducive to longevity, the average length of reign is found to be 23 years for the British kings, 24 years for the French, 23 years for the German, and 19 years for the Russian sovereigns.<sup>1</sup> Of these averages, taking that obtained for the rulers of Japan, where the conditions of life are almost the same as in India, as a suitable basis of calculation in the case of the forty-nine Vel rulers above referred to, the date of emigration of the first Vel chief to Dravida is ascertained to be about 1,029 years anterior to the time of

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<sup>1</sup> "The Chronology of Ancient India," by Velandai Gopala Iyer, B.A., p. 65.

Irung Ko Vel, who was sung by the bard Kapilar of the last Sangam. As Irung Ko Vel flourished about 1,800 years ago, it follows that the date of the settlement of the primitive Vels in the south cannot be earlier than the eleventh century B.C. This date is not much later than the period of the Maha Bharata war, which is held, on the strength of many weighty reasons, to have occurred in the 12th<sup>1</sup> or the 13th<sup>2</sup> century B.C., by such sound scholars as the Hon. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt and Mr. Velandai Gopala Aiyar, B.A., besides others of no less research and culture. This remarkable propinquity of what is apparently the probable age of the colonization of parts of the south by the Vels to the epoch of the great Bharata war is noteworthy, as it fully corroborates the tradition that it was after the decease of Sri Krishna that the Velpula princes and people removed to the south.<sup>3</sup> To determine the date of this event within narrower limits than those above indicated is hardly possible without ampler data than those, at present, available to us.

I shall now briefly rehearse the story of how the sons of Velpulam and their chiefs emigrated to Dravida and founded powerful and prosperous colonies in that country in ancient times. Numerous bands of Yadavas quitting Velpulam, where they had been dwelling since they left their old home in the valley of the Ganges, moved down to the forest tracts in the south, cleared the forests, and created there a new home for themselves. Being a civilized race, they knew well the arts of peace as well as of war, including those of husbandry, weaving, making pottery, and the crafts of the five artificers, a knowledge of which was indispensable for a colonizing race like them. Long before these Yadava immigrants entered

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<sup>1</sup> "Chronology of Ancient India."—*Vide* chapter on "The date of the Maha Bharata war."—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> Dutt's "Ancient India," p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The "Maha Bharata" refers to a Pandya named Saranga Dwaja who fought on the side of the Pandavas in the great war, and according to Tamil books, the Chera and the Chola kings were also allied with the Pandavas in that war. As the Pandyas have always been allowed to be the oldest dynasty of Southern India or the Tamil country, it appears to be unlikely that the original founder of that royal house flourished at such a late date as that here advocated.—V. J. T.

the Tamil country,<sup>1</sup> a powerful and numerous race of people called "Nagas," and some other races which had descended into India from the north-east of "Aryavarta," were holding it, as permanent settlers, under their own kings. We learn from the old works (in Sanscrit) how, about the time of the Maha Bharata war, the above races had already spread out and formed permanent colonies in Tamilakam. As the learned Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai has, in his valuable work, dealt with this subject so fully as to meet with the approbation of his readers, it will be superfluous for me to dwell on it further. It suffices to say that the above-mentioned Nagas, and other foreign settlers in Tamilakam, subdued the older inhabitants of the country, and imposed their own rule upon them. It was at this time, when the Naga and Mongolian supremacy was fully established in Dravida, that the Yadavas of Velupulam, clearing the great forests which covered the districts in the north of Dravida, and founding colonies in them under their own chiefs, gradually advanced further south<sup>2</sup> into the Tamil country. The districts which they thus cleared up, improved, and rendered fit for cultivation, they made their own by settling in them permanently under their own chiefs. Another section of these Yadavas, whose wealth consisted in

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<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai "Villavar," *i.e.*, the bowmen, and "Minavar" (represented by the modern Minas) were the oldest inhabitants of the Tamil country, who, in course of time, were subdued by a numerous and powerful race called the Nagas, whose modern representatives are the Maravas, Kallar, Kurumbar, and Parathavar or Paravar. These were followed by races of Mongolian origin or extraction called "Yakshas" or "Yakkos" by the Sanscrit and Pali chroniclers, and identical with the Velala community of Southern India.—*Vide* "Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago." chap. IV., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> The gradual extension, here referred to, of political power from the north to the south of Tamilakam, by the Vels of the Maharatta country, receives no support from either the situation or the tradition of the origin of the Pandiyan kingdom. The earliest Tamil settlement, in so far as our present knowledge of it goes, lay, not on the northern border, as is here assumed, but in the southernmost section of Dravida, Mount Pothiyil near Cape Comorin being one of its most hallowed spots.—V. J. T.

The festival of Indra called "Indra Vilavu" would seem to have been one of the most popular festivals of the Tamils in ancient times. Indra was a peculiarly Indian god. The Maravas, who are admittedly

live stock, preferred a nomadic life with their flocks of sheep and cattle in the jungles and forests of the outlying portions of the country. Those of the Yadavas who adopted a settled life in the Nadus, or cultivated portions of the country, were called "Kilar," i.e., "landlords," and "Velalas," from "Vel," the name of their mother country. These, living in societies, and prospering in the districts they made cultivable and fertile, gradually became experts in the various arts and crafts that were necessary for their material welfare, and attained to a mature civilization in process of time. The god whom these Aryan Kshatryas worshipped in order to ensure the blessings of fertility and prosperity of their land, was Indra, the rain god of the primitive Aryas. That the worship of Indra was an ancient practice of these people is proved by the references one meets with in the Puranic stories to the festivals of Indra celebrated by the Yadavas at Govardhana. As their more primitive abodes were in the districts about the Ganges, they called themselves "Gungaputras,"<sup>1</sup> i.e., "the children of Gunga," and "Gungavamsas," i.e., "the tribe of Gunga," or "those of the race of the Gunga," and the petty kings who ruled over them were called "Velir" and "Venmar."

Now, that section of the Yadavas who chose a nomadic life in the forests, tending their flocks of sheep and cattle, were

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aborigines, claim to be the progeny of Indra, while their connection with the Pandiyas, who were known also as "Marar," was always of so intimate a kind that it seems hard to suppose the existence of any racial difference between them. The princes of the Maravas have, from ancient times, claimed kinship with the Cholas of the Solar race, and once the connection between these two races is allowed, the Indra festival celebrated in times of old in the Chola capital must, far from being an alien importation into the Tamil country, be looked upon as entirely indigenous, in its origin and development, to pre-Aryan India. It is worthy of notice that the late Professor Huxley considered the Maravas and the other South Indian races allied to them as kinsmen of the ancient Egyptians, whose kings bore the proud title of "the Sons of Ra," i.e., the sun.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> "Kankaikulaththar" is one of the names of the Tamil Velalas. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai identifies them with the "Gangaridæ" of ancient Greek writers.—*Vide* his "Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago," p. 114.

on that account called "Ayar,"<sup>1</sup> "Kovalar," and "Mullainilamakkal" by the Tamil people. Immigrants from Velupulam as they also were, not being in contact with the civilized population of the Nadus, *i.e.*, the towns and villages of the country, they were not so well posted up in the practical arts and crafts of life, or so refined and cultured as the former, *i.e.*, the Yadavas inhabiting the towns and villages. Their tribal gods were Kannan, *i.e.*, Krishna, and Baladeva,<sup>2</sup> who, as Avatars of Tirumal, *i.e.*, the holy Vishnu, had incarnated in their race; and they celebrated frequent festivals and held dances in honour of these gods. According to the following passages in "Kalithogei," this shepherd race would appear to have accompanied the original founder of the Pandiyan family to the south, namely:—

(1) "The excellent clans of 'Ayar'<sup>3</sup> who came along with the illustrious house which 'Thennavan,'<sup>4</sup> whose virtue never fades, planted in olden times."

(2) "The great (shepherd) families who followed the imperishable house."

It has been pointed out (by eminent scholars) that Katyayana, who lived during the reign of king Nanda in the first half of the fourth century B.C., and who wrote "Varthikas" to explain the sutras of Panini, besides alluding to the Cholas and the Pandiyas (by name), refers,<sup>5</sup> indirectly, to the ancestry

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai thinks that the "Ayar" are identical with the "Ahirs" of the Sanscrit Puranas.—*Vide* "Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago," p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Same as "Bala Raman."

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, as elsewhere noticed, identifies these "Ayar" races with the "Ahirs" or "Abirs" of the Sanscrit records. They were a non-Aryan people who inhabited, at first, the lower valley of the Indus, but in later times moved down to the south and occupied the regions about Guzerat. The fact that these shepherd races paid reverence to the "Jakshas" would seem to indicate some sort of ethnical affinity between them, the "Yakshas," and "Rakshasas" of ancient India.—*Vide* "Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago," chap. XV., p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> "The King of the South," a name applied to the Pandiyas. "Thennan" is only another form of the same name, but it is sometimes interpreted as meaning "the lord of the coconut groves."—V. J. T.

<sup>5</sup> "Varthika on Panini," IV., 1-168.

of the latter by stating that one sprung from an individual of the tribes of the Pandus should be called a "Pandya."<sup>1</sup> The following facts have also been adduced (by learned men) as furnishing further material proofs of the descent of the Pandiyas from the Pandus, namely: they were said to have belonged, like the Pandus, to the Lunar race; their capital, Mathurai,<sup>2</sup> was named after one of the ancient capitals of the Lunar race in the north; and the Pandiyas called themselves "Panchavar,"<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, the "descendants of the five," to indicate their common origin with the five sons of Pandu. The Tamil

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<sup>1</sup> The name "Pandiyan" has also been explained as meaning "old," from "Pandu," from which it is held by many to have been derived. In the "Mahavansa," the first reference to the Pandiyan king is in the form of "king Pandava of Southern Mathura," and occurs in connection with the marriage of king Vijaya with the daughter of the Pandiya. The forms "Pandu" and "Pandi" are also to be found in the "Mahavansa" later on. There is, however, no reference in Tamil literature to "Pandu" of the Maha Bharata as a remote ancestor of the Pandavas. According to Dr. Oppert (*vide* his "Original Inhabitants of Bharata Varsha") Pandiyan is a contracted form of "Pallandiyan," *i.e.*, the lord of the Pallas, whom he identifies with the Pallavas, Ballas, Ballalas, and Velalas. Taking all the above views into consideration, the correct view would appear to be that the Pandiyas were a very ancient race of agriculturists related to the Pandæ or the Pandus of ancient India. It seems important to note that the agricultural class among the Telugus is still known as the "Panta," *i.e.*, the old race.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> According to the "Ramayana," Uttarakandam, Northern or Uttara Mathura, was the capital of Madhu, a relative of Ravana, king of the Yakshas and Rakshasas of Lanka. His son Lavana was king of Mathura at the time of the Rama-Ravana war. It is worthy of notice that "Madhu" and "Yadu" are strictly synonymous terms—while "Yadu," the ancestor of the Yadavas, was, according to the Puranic legend, also the progenitor of the Rakshasas. The "Ayar," *i.e.*, the shepherd races of the Pandiyan kingdom, who claimed to have come down to the south with the ancestors of the Pandiyas, worshipped not only Krishna and Balarama of the Yadava race, but also the Yakshas who were the enemies of Rama. There seems to be no difficulty, therefore, in attributing the foundation of the Northern Mathura of the classics to a Yaksha dynasty with which the Pandiyas were connected.—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> Marco Polo says that the Pandiyan kingdom was, at the time of his visit, ruled over by five brother-princes of the Pandiyan race, and the same state of things is said to have prevailed when the sceptre of the Pandiyas finally passed into the hands of the Telugu conqueror. The



records declare that the Cholas<sup>1</sup> also, likewise claimed Muchukunta of the Solar race as their first great ancestor, and the Puranas say that this Muchukunta was a devotee, and one greatly favoured, of Sri Krishna. Leaving this aside, we learn from Tamil literature that the nomadic Yadavas who roamed about in the forests, had, at first, their own line of kings, which was exterminated by the Cholas<sup>2</sup> and the Cheras<sup>3</sup> in later times. The Yadava tribes who thus entered and settled in the Tamil country, Kshatriyas by rank as they were primitively, being, nevertheless, split up as time passed on into many separate communities, owing to differences of occupation that had developed during the long centuries of colonizing work upon which they had embarked without any intercourse with their Aryan kindred and compeers in social status, abandoned their primitive customs and habits little by little. They, nevertheless, never lost their hereditary valour and indomitable energy. The Velir tribes, who were thus forced by the stress of circumstances to take to such diverse callings as husbandry, the making of pottery, the five crafts, &c., generation after generation, were, in course of time, looked upon as separate and distinct communities, having no racial kinship with one another, so that the facts of their common ancestry and origin were entirely forgotten with the lapse of time. The caste of potters are, at present, known in the Tamil country as (குயர்) "Kuyavar." They were, however, not known by

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"Mahavansa" also refers in one place to the five brothers who ruled over the kingdom of Mathurai (*vide* chapter XC., vv. 43 and 44). The name "Panchavan" applied to the Pandiyan king in Tamil literature may, therefore, be explained as containing nothing more than a reference to this historical fact.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> The "Koli" race of Maharashtra has always laid claim to be the descendants of the Solar race through Yuvanashwa and Mandata. But this race is held to be aboriginal, and therefore non-Aryan; the resemblance between "Koli" and "Choli" is, however, striking, especially when it is contemplated along with the fact that Uraiyur, the capital of the Cholas, was known also as "Koli-ur," i.e., the city of Koli.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> "Pattinapalai," line 288.

<sup>3</sup> "Pathittupaththu," 71, 88.

this name in ancient times. A study of Tamil literature would disclose the fact that their more ancient name is (வேட்கோ) "Ved-Ko," which signifies, apparently, "that they were descended from the race of Velpula kings." We also find the name "Irun Ko Vel" used for the potters in the old classics, which, however, appears to be only a derivative metathetically obtained from the former. The passage "Nanmathi Vedkochchirar" (நன்மதிவேட்கோச்சிர்), i.e., "the little ones of the Vedkos possessing good sense and intelligence," occurs in an ode in "Purrananooru,"<sup>1</sup> and it obviously implies a certain amount of culture and refinement among these potters in former times. Even to-day the potters adhere to the "Anuddanam" of the Aryas, and unlike others who were of the Vel community, but have abandoned their national customs and practices, are still in the habit of wearing the sacred thread of the Dwijas or the twice-born. Furthermore, "Velar" (வேளிர்) is in use among them as an honorary title even at the present day.

The above facts furnish us with an amount of cumulative evidence which appears to me to be sufficient—and so too it indeed must to every sober and unprejudiced mind—to establish beyond doubt that the class of potters known as Vedkovar (வேட்கோவர்) to pundits of old Tamil literature, were originally inhabitants of Velpulam, and that they formed an integral part of the Velir race of ancient Tamilakam.

The story preserved in the commentary on "Tolkappiam" that the poet Nakkirar, incensed at the audacity of a potter named "Vedkokkuyakkodan," who had ventured to extol the beauties of Ariyam<sup>2</sup> and to speak disparagingly of Tamil, cursed and killed him with an imprecatory ode, would seem to point to the existence of Sanscrit culture among these Vedkovar in ancient times.

Of all these Yadava tribes, the most numerous, prosperous, and powerful one was the tribe of Velir, who made their living by means of the plough. The learned Nachchar in his

<sup>1</sup> Vide ode 32.<sup>2</sup> Sanscrit.

commentary on "Tolkappiam" writes about them as follows, namely:—

"The Velalas<sup>1</sup> consist of two classes, namely, 'Uluthuviththunpor' (i.e., those who get their fields ploughed by others, or in other words, who possess the means to employ labour in the cultivation of their fields), and 'Uluthunpor' (i.e., those who ploughed their fields themselves, or those who are not rich enough to employ labour in ploughing, &c., their fields). Of these, the former, i.e., Uluthuviththunpor, belonged originally to Pidavur, Alundur, Nangur, Navur, Alancheri, Perunchikkal, Vallam, Kilar, and other cities of the Chola country, and were employed by the reigning monarchs as governors of provinces and districts, and commanders of their armies; and they were entitled to high privileges, being known as 'Vel' and 'Arasu,' and honoured with the title of 'Kavithi' in the Pandiyan country, and being born of the families of the petty kings and nobles, they had the privilege of giving their daughters in marriage to the paramount rulers of the country." Moreover, "invading the enemy's country, repelling attacks made on their own country by the enemy, and acting as peace envoys, were amongst the privileges of the Velalas." And further, in his comments on another sutra of "Tolkappiam," he ascribes the following six duties to the Velalas, namely, "teaching, giving, ploughing, tending cattle, engaging in trade, and loyalty to the king." It may be observed that tending cattle and engaging in commerce are here included amongst the six duties of the Velalas. The facts above noticed make

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<sup>1</sup> "The Tamils are, like the Romans of old, a nation of yeomen," and like them, hold agriculture in the highest esteem. "The world wheels behind the plough, says the Tamil sage Tiruvalluvar," of all work, therefore, "ploughing is the chief." The Portuguese historian of India, F. Sousa, writing of the social divisions of his time (17th century), says: "The most renowned families are the Rajahs, an ingenious people, who would rather lose their lives than their arms in battle, and the Brahmans, who contend with the Rajahs for precedence. The Chetties are the richest merchants. The Vellalar or the country people are held in such esteem that kings marry their daughters to them."—*Vide* "Report on Ceylon Census, 1901," by P. Arunachalam, M.A., C.C.S., vol. I., p. 197, paras. 47 and 49.—V. J. T.

it fully clear, it must be admitted that the great Tamil monarchs of old not only held many of the Velalas in very great esteem and regard and employed them in high offices of State under them, but honoured them to such extent as to accept in marriage the daughters of the more powerful among them—not a few of whom held the position of petty kings over large districts. Many instances of such marriages (of the supreme kings of Tamilakam with the daughters of their Vel feudatories) are mentioned in “Pathittupaththu” and other ancient Tamil works. We conclude, therefore, that it was because these Velir, who were a section of the primitive Aryas, had attained an extreme degree of maturity in the civilization and refinement of the time, that the great Tamil potentates, who were of high descent, treated them as their equals in social rank, and considered it not beneath them to intermarry with their families. It is to this fact that Tol-kappian also refers in his sutra 79 of the section on “Purath-thinai Iyal.”

Moreover, we gather from the Tamil records that, when the Vels first set out on the enterprise of founding small kingdoms for themselves, they came into frequent collisions with the three Tamil kings, and that Konkanam, Muththoor <sup>1</sup> Koot-tam, Pothigai Nadu, Milalaik Kootam <sup>2</sup> Kunrur, &c., were amongst their oldest settlements in the south. In subsequent times, however, the paramount rulers <sup>3</sup> of Tamilakam

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<sup>1</sup> Muththoor Koottam is also called Muththoortukkoottam. This was one of the districts of the Chola country which was, at one time, conquered by the Pandiyan king and annexed to his kingdom. It is supposed to be now represented by the districts lying round the modern “Muththu Peddai.”

<sup>2</sup> This is situated in the Pandiyan country, and it may be remarked that one of its divisions is even now called “Dwarapati Nadu.”

<sup>3</sup> That the Pandiyas were Velalas by race receives strong support from the traditional account of their origin elsewhere quoted as preserved by Nachchar, namely, that they were of the family of Sri Krishna of Dwarakai of the Yadava race. Says the learned author of the last Ceylon Census Report: “When the Tamils are spoken of in South India, the Velalas are meant, as being the Tamils *par excellence*, both the Brahmans at the top of the modern social system and the aborigines at the bottom being excluded. This seems to indicate that these two are regarded as heterogeneous elements not reduced to the

who became connected with their families by marriage, took them and their small kingdoms under their own protection, treated with very great regard and esteem many of the cultured and civilized Velala nobles who were the kinsmen of these Vel princes, and beside conferring on them marks of honour and distinction and liberal grants of lands, prized their services so highly as to appoint them their chief ministers and military commanders. It is said in "Chilappathikaram" that one of the most distinguished ministers of the Chera king "Chenkudduvan" was "Alumpil Vel," who was one of the petty kings of the time. The Velala nobles who held the position of chief ministers under the Pandiyas were honoured with the title of "Kavithi," while those who were so employed under the Cholas bore the high title of "Enathi,"<sup>1</sup> as can be seen from the passage "looking at the face of the Choliya Enathi" which occurs in "Manimekali."<sup>2</sup> The fact that Karikal Chola honoured these Vels above all his other subjects, and took them under his special patronage, granting them the over-lordship of twenty-four Kottams consisting of seventy-four Nadus, is proved by extant sannas and writings.

According to "Tolkappiam,"<sup>3</sup> which was composed in the latter part of what historical experts have designated "the

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national type. \* \* \* In this race of farmers (*i.e.*, the Velalas) three families appear to have early attained to a predominant position, and they founded the famous Pandya, Chola, and Chera dynasties."—*Vide* "The Ceylon Census Report, 1901," p. 196, paras. 46 and 47. The author of "The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago" has asserted the same thing of the Tamil dynasties. He says: "The three Tamil tribes Maranmar, Thirayar, and Vanavar founded respectively the Tamil kingdoms subsequently known as the Pandya, Chola, and Chera kingdoms. The Chera, Chola, and Pandya kings and most of the petty chiefs of Tamilakam belonged to the tribe of Velalas."—*Vide* pp. 50 and 113.—V. J. T.

<sup>1</sup> This title was not confined to any particular class of the Tamils. Enathi Nayanar, one of the Sivite saints, was a distinguished scion of the Shantara or toddy-drawing race.—V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> One of the Buddhist epics now extant.—V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> Tolkappian, the author of "Tolkappiam," was, according to the traditionary accounts preserved in Tamil works whose classical value has never been questioned, a disciple of Agastiyar, and it is not, therefore, clear how his date can be brought down to such a late period as the 3rd century B.C.—V. J. T.

sutra period of Sanskrit literature," tilling the ground was the only means of livelihood adopted by the Velalas, "and they had no other." This statement means, it appears to me, nothing more than that agriculture was the chief occupation of the greater portion of them. For none will deny that there were among them many who, as distinguished chiefs owning small kingdoms, exercised duties appropriate only to the royalty, while there were also others who served the Tamil kings in high offices of state, and were counted worthy of high royal favours and marks of honour, as the following quotations from "Tolkappiam" should unmistakably show:—

- (1) "The rights and privileges natural to the royalty belong to others also besides the king."
- (2) "The bow, the lance, the feet-rings, the kanni (*i.e.*, the bouquet), the garland, the necklace, the chariot, and the sword belong to others also of ancient ancestry besides the king."
- (3) "The foot-ring and the kanni are the substantial awards they receive in the service of the king."

We understand from the above passages, of which the first two enumerate the privileges of the Velir and the last one those of the Velalas, that most of the distinctions or privileges which were held appropriate only to crowned heads belonged to the Velir too, while to the Velalas belonged the privileges of wearing only the foot-ring and the kanni. As the social customs and occupations of the Velir were, in the time of the grammarian Tolkappian, identical, not with those peculiar to either the Kshatriyas or the Vaisyas taken separately, but with those of both these classes taken together, that grammarian naturally ascribed to them duties belonging to both, *i.e.*, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas. But the commentator, where the text appeared to him to imply a high social standing for the Velalas, there invariably ascribes a noble and high descent to them, and where the status implied by the text is an inferior one, there he uniformly assigns it to the "Uluthunpor," or the poorer class among the Velalas. This, of course, represents their condition then. Further, as the greater number of those who formed the

higher aristocracy of ancient Tamilakam belonged to the Velir class, the term Velir, gradually losing its primitive signification, came to be used and taught in the Tamil lexicons, in later times, as a synonym for "a petty king," irrespective of race or tribe. But as we do not find it to be so employed in ancient Tamil works, it is obviously an erroneous usage of a subsequent period. And further, as the Velalas, who were the kith and kin of the Velir, adopted agriculture as their special occupation from generation to generation more than any other community of the land, that occupation was, by and by, called by a designation derived from their name. I refer above to the word "Velanmai,"<sup>1</sup> which literally means "the occupation of the Vels," *i.e.*, agriculture. Moreover, from the extreme regard in which the Vels were held on account of their unbounded and hereditary munificence, their strict integrity and faith, as well as their hereditary right to minor kingships, the word Vel came to signify, in course of time, respectively "a benefactor," "truthfulness,"<sup>2</sup> and "an Ilavarasu," *i.e.*, an heir-apparent to the throne. It may, in this connection, be observed that even now the ancient name of Velir is very commonly met with among certain classes of Velalas residing at Therkaddur in the Native State of Pudukottai in South India.

To recapitulate now the results of our inquiry so far into the origin of the Velir race. By the tradition existing in South India that the primitive Velir were immigrants from Dwaraka, and of the line of Kannan,<sup>3</sup> a tradition materially supported by a passage in "Purrananooru," a work of high antiquity, the Velir become identified as Yadavas by race. With regard to the Yadavas, their emigration to the south and the establishment of permanent colonies of them there, are supported, not only by clear, though indirect, references

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<sup>1</sup> "Vellalar" is also said to be a contracted form of "Vella-Alar," meaning "the lords of the 'Vellam,' " *i.e.*, flood. In this sense it means substantially the same as "Karalar," *i.e.*, the lords of the rain, which is another name by which the Tamil agriculturists are known. — V. J. T.

<sup>2</sup> Some derive "Vel," in the sense of truthfulness, from the root "Vel," meaning "white." — V. J. T.

<sup>3</sup> The same as Krishna.

thereto in ancient Indian literature, but also by a tradition existing in the north of India much to the same effect. Furthermore, that the Velir were Yadavas by race is made evident from the agreement, in many respects, between them and the Hoysalas, who came down from Dwaraka and ruled in the south in later times. The terms Velir and Velalas, by which they were known, appertained to them in consequence of their having come from Velpulam, which was the name of their mother-country. The appellation Vel, moreover, is found used for a line of kings of ancient Deccan, namely, the Chalukkyas, and as these Chalukkyas themselves belonged to the same Yadava race, the identity of race of these two communities, the Velir of the Tamil country and the Chalukya rulers, seems to be well established. Moreover, the legend of the birth of a first ancestor from the sacred pot of an ascetic which is common to both of them would seem to carry this identification almost to perfection. Again, the identification of the Chalukkyas, the Yadava Narapatis of Vijayanagara, and the Vels of Tamilakam with the ancient race of Andhras who ruled over Magadha, is remarkably confirmatory of the same conclusion. The country of Ven, which was one of the twelve of Kodun Tamil Nadus, was identical with the primitive country of the Yadavas, and it agrees with other facts that the time of the emigration of the primitive Vels to the Tamil country was about the eleventh century B.C. The above is most probably the correct story of the colonization of large districts of the south by the Yadava race.

To conclude, then: the Velir families who, as stated in the preceding pages, emigrated from Velpulam and settled as rulers in several parts of the south, and the great community of the Velalas who were their followers and kinsmen have, by their lavish munificence, by the titles and privileges which they were deemed worthy to receive at the hands of the kings, by their benevolence to the poor and the helpless, and last, but not least, by their invincible valour and strength that never stooped to oppress, earned, from ages past, the highest degree of fame and reputation for themselves throughout the Tamil country. Not one of the great Tamil poets of earlier or



later periods, who went to their mansions and sang their praises, ever came back thence unbenefited or unrewarded. There is, indeed, no nook or corner in all Tamilakam where the open-handed liberality of the primitive Velir is remembered except with feelings of praise and admiration. Of this type were the great Vallals Vel Avi, Vel Ay, Vel Evvi, Vel Pari, and Vel Pekan, who all flourished about 1,800 years ago, and whose beautiful histories, too long to be here inserted, may well form the subject of a future essay. Not less illustrious and great were also their distinguished descendants, in sounding whose praises the poets of a later date have exhausted all their command of language as well as the resources of poesy.

“Tho’ things diverse from diverse sages’ lips we learn,  
’Tis wisdom’s part in each the true thing to discern.”—

*Pope’s translation of Tiruvalluvar’s “Kural,” stanza 423.*

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, January 31, 1908.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. P. Arunáhalam, M.A.,  
C.C.S.Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudali-  
yár.Dr. W. H. de Silva, M.B.,  
C.M., F.R.C.S.

Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.

Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A.,  
LL.M.Mr. A. M. Gunasekera, Muda-  
liyár.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on August 27, 1907.

2. Laid on the table list of the following Members elected by Circular since the last Council Meeting :—

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|--|------------------------|--|
| (1) V. Ekanayaka, Proctor :              | recom- mended by       | { (a) C. M. Fernando.<br>(b) E. W. Perera. |
| (2) J. P. Perera, Proctor :              | recom- mended by       | { (a) C. M. Fernando.<br>(b) E. W. Perera. |
| (3) Don. E. Wanigasuriya, Proctor,       | S. C. : recommended by | { (a) C. M. Fernando.<br>(b) E. W. Perera. |
| (4) N. D. B. Silva :                     | recommended by         | { (a) C. M. Fernando.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph. |
| (5) C. Tiru-Navuk-Arasu, Advo-<br>cate : | recommended by         | { (a) G. A. Joseph.<br>(b) C. M. Fernando. |
| (6) J. van Langenberg, Advocate :        | recommended by         | { (a) A. Willey.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph.      |
| (7) R. A. Mirando :                      | recommended by         | { (a) G. A. Joseph.<br>(b) C. M. Fernando. |
| (8) Lady Hutchinson :                    | recommended by         | { (a) H. C. P. Bell.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph.  |
| (9) B. C. Tavares de Mello :             | recom- mended by       | { (a) S. G. Lee.<br>(b) M. A. C. Mohamed.  |

- (10) Suriyagoda Sumangala Terun- { (a) T. B. Yatawara.  
nanse: recommended by { (b) G. A. Joseph.
- (11) C. E. V. S. Corea, Advocate: { (a) C. E. Corea.  
recommended by { (b) G. A. Joseph.
- (12) Galagedara Gunaratuna Terun- { (a) T. B. Yatawara.  
nanse: recommended by { (b) G. A. Joseph.
- (13) C. Don Carolis: recommended { (a) G. A. Joseph.  
by { (b) J. Parsons.

3. Laid on the table Circular No. 191 of June 10 last containing the opinions of Messrs. P. Arunáchalam and C. M. Fernando on the Paper entitled "The Age of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI.," by Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted with thanks, read at a Meeting, and published in the Society's Journal.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Greek Influence on Indian Art," by Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and J. Harward for their opinions.

5. Laid on the table Circular No. 374 of August 29, 1907, containing the opinions of Messrs. J. P. Lewis and R. G. Anthonisz on the Paper entitled "Letters from Rája Siḡha II. to the Dutch," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted with thanks, read at a Meeting, and published in the Society's Journal.

6. Laid on the table and reconsidered Mr. H. W. Codrington's Paper entitled "Notes on the Smith Caste in the Kandyan Provinces."

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred back to S. de Silva, Mudaliyár, and that he be kindly requested to mark the passages in the Paper which he thinks objectionable, and that, subsequently, the Paper be sent to other Members of the Council for their opinions.

7. Considered the desirability of requesting Government to acquire a set of diacritical types for the Government Printing Office.

Resolved,—That the Government be requested to obtain diacritical types for the Government Printing Office, and that it be pointed out that (1) such type is necessary for scientific and learned publications; (2) the "Maháwaṃsa" cannot be reprinted without diacritics; (3) official documents cannot be transliterated owing to a similar want of diacritical type; (4) before the introduction of the Monotype machines diacritics were used at the Government Press.

8. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Notes on some of the lesser known Hills of the Batticaloa District and Lower Uva," by Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. H. White and C. Driberg for their opinions.

9. Laid on the table translations of Dutch manuscripts entitled (1) "The Dutch East India Company and the Peace of Amiens, 1802"; (2) "The Execution of Petrus Vuyst, Governor of Ceylon, 1726-1729," by Mr. A. E. Buultjens, B.A.

Resolved,—That the Papers be referred to Messrs. J. P. Lewis and R. G. Anthonisz for their opinions.

10. Laid on the table a letter from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary requesting a further report on the reprinting of L. C. Wijesinha Mudaliyár's English translation of the "Maháwamsa."

Resolved,—That in the opinion of the Council, while it is most desirable that the translation of the "Maháwamsa" be re-edited and published, it is also advisable that the translation and notes should be first thoroughly revised, and that scholars in India and Ceylon should be consulted as to improvements in the publication of the chronicle.

Resolved further,—That if the stock of the existing translation has run out, the Council do recommend that a limited number of copies of the present edition be reprinted.

11. Resolved,—That a Meeting of the Council be held before the Annual Meeting to consider the Draft Annual Report and the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1908, &c.

12. Resolved,—That His Excellency the Governor be asked to preside at the next Annual General Meeting on any day convenient to His Excellency in the last week of February or first week in March.

13. Resolved,—That the question of asking Government to double the annual grant of Rs. 500 do stand over for another Meeting.

14. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Amongst the last Veddás," by Prof. Moszkowski.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Dr. A. Willey and Mr. J. Harward, and that if approved, it be read at the Annual General Meeting.

15. Laid on the table a letter from the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis asking for a sum of Rs. 50 for marking two historical spots in the neighbourhood of Kandy.

Resolved,—That Mr. Lewis be informed that the Society has no funds to spare for the purpose, but that the President kindly undertakes to see that the required sum be forthcoming.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 10, 1908.*

## Present :

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. P. Arunáçalam, M.A.,

C.C.S.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. A. M. Gunasekera, Mudaliyár.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

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*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on January 31, 1908.

2. Read and passed the Draft Annual Report for 1907.

3. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1908.

Under Rule 16 Messrs. C. M. Fernando and A. M. Gunasekera, Mudaliyár, retire by seniority, and Dr. A. J. Chalmers and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Fowler by reason of least attendance, two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election.

Resolved,—That Messrs. C. M. Fernando and A. M. Gunasekera, Mudaliyár, be re-elected, and that Dr. A. J. Chalmers and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Fowler be deemed to have retired by least attendance, and the vacancies in the Council be filled by the appointment of Messrs. J. Parsons, B.Sc., and H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. P. Arunáçalam, M.A., C.C.S., having been appointed a Vice-President of the Society, his place in the Council was filled by the appointment of Mr. E. R. Goonaratna, Gate Mudaliyár.

4. Laid on the table the Hon. the Colonial Secretary's letter No. 2,635 of February 17, 1908, notifying that the question of providing the Government Printing Office with diacritical type at a cost of Rs. 2,400 will be considered in connection with the Supply Bill of 1909.

5. Laid on the table the Hon. the Colonial Secretary's reply, dated February 17, 1908, regarding the reprinting of L. C. Wijesinha Mudaliyár's translation of the "*Mahāvamsa*."

Resolved,—That a Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. P. Arunáçalam, J. Harward, and S. de Silva, Mudaliyár, be appointed to advise the Council regarding the reply on the subject.

6. Resolved,—That the consideration of the remaining portion of business in the Agenda be postponed for want of time.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 10, 1908.*

## Present:

His Excellency Sir Henry McCallum, G.C.M.G., Patron, in the  
Chair.

The Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G., Vice-Patron.

The Hon. Sir Joseph T. Hutchinson, M.A., Vice-Patron.

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President.

Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Vice-President.

Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Govern-  
ment Archivist.

Mr. C. Batuwantudawe, Barris-  
ter-at-Law.

Rev. A. Stanley Bishop

Mr. C. D. Carolis.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A.,  
C.C.S.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Dr. W. H. de Silva, M.B., C.M.,  
F.R.C.S.

Mr. E. Evans, B.Sc.

Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A.,  
LL.M.

A. M. Gunasekera, Mudaliyár.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana, M.B.,  
C.M.

Lady Hutchinson.

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.

Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.

Mr. J. W. Maduwanwala.

Mr. S. D. Mahawalatenne.

Mr. P. E. Morgappah.

Mr. C. Namasivayam, J.P.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. J. Pieris, M.A., LL.M.

Mr. F. C. Roles.

Dr. W. P. Rodrigo, M.R.C.S..

L.R.C.P., D.P.H.

Mr. G. W. Suhren.

Dr. V. R. Saravanamuttu.

Suriyagoda Sumangala Thero.

Mr. F. A. Tisseverasinghe,  
Proctor, S. C.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Eighteen ladies and twenty-four gentlemen.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held  
on November 4, 1907.

2. Mr. JOSEPH read the—

### ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1907.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1907:—

#### MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Four General Meetings of this Society have been held during the year, at which the following Papers were read and discussed:—

- (1) "Nuwara-gala, Eastern Province," by Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
- (2) "The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- (3) "Roman Coins found in Ceylon," by Mr. J. Still.
- (4) "Notes on a find of Eldlings made in Anurádhapura," by Mr. J. Still.
- (5) "Some early Copper Coins of Ceylon," by Mr. J. Still.
- (6) "Joan Gideon Loten, F.R.S., the Naturalist Governor of Ceylon (1752-57), and the Ceylonese Artist de Bevere," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- (7) "Prehistoric Stones," by Mr. J. Pole.

#### MEMBERS.

It is satisfactory to note that during the past year forty-five new Members were elected, viz.:—

J. Parsons, B.Sc.	W. F. Skene.
C. L. Joseph, Advocate.	T. B. Madawala.
Lieut. H. J. Jones.	J. W. R. Ilangakoon, B.A., LL.B.
H. F. C. Fyers.	E. C. de Fonseka, Proctor.
P. A. Goonaratna.	F. de Zoysa, Advocate.
T. E. Gooneratna.	G. S. Schneider, Advocate.
W. T. D. C. Wagiswara.	F. A. Hayley, Advocate.
Rev. R. P. Butterfield.	L. A. Mendis.
S. G. Koch.	D. R. A. P. Siriwardana, Advocate.
T. Harward.	H. J. M. Wickramaratna, Proctor.
L. S. Woolf, B.A., C.C.S.	F. E. Vaid.
M. A. C. Mohamad.	V. Ekanayaka, Proctor.
J. Hornell.	J. P. Perera, Proctor.
A. H. Fernando.	D. E. Wanigasuriya, Proctor.
A. E. Roberts, Proctor.	N. D. B. Silva.
J. D. S. Rajapakse, J.P., Mudaliyár.	C. Tiru-Navuk-Arasu, Advocate.
D. H. O. K. Jayawardana, Mudaliyár.	J. van Langenberg, Advocate.
O. W. Henman.	R. A. Mirando.
T. Southwell, F.A.C.S.	Miss M. Rollo.
T. A. J. Noorbhai.	Dr. W. P. Rodrigo, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H.
C. J. A. Marshall, J.P., Proctor, S. C.	O. M. Obeyesekere.
J. A. Daniel, B.A.	
L. B. Fernando, Proctor, S. C.	
M. F. Khan.	

*Life Members.*

The following gentlemen have become Life Members :—

H. White, C.C.S.

F. J. de Mel, M.A., LL.B.

Two Members have resigned, viz.. Messrs. F. W. Bois and E. E. Green.

The Council record with regret the death of the following Members :—J. H. Ilangakoon, Mudaliyár, W. S. de Silva. C. Tiru-Navuk-Arasu, Advocate.

The Society has now on its roll 253 Members. Of these, 29 are Life Members and 10 Honorary Members.

While the number of new Members is encouraging, the Council feel that the Society deserves more extensive support from the Members of the Civil and Public Services of the Colony. The work of these officers is of such a character that it can hardly fail to derive benefit from the study of such subjects as it is the object of the Society to investigate.

## JOURNALS.

One Number of the Journal, Vol. XIX., No. 57, was published during the year. It contains, in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and General Meetings, two Papers :—

- (1) "The Coconut Palm in Ceylon: Beginning, Rise, and Progress of its Cultivation," by the Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G.
- (2) Some survivals in Singhalese Art," by Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy.

The Council again thank Mr. H. C. Cottle, the Government Printer, and his Staff for the care bestowed on the printing of the Society's publications.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

"The History of Ceylon, from the earliest times to 1600 A.D., as related by João de Barros and Diogo de Couto," has been undertaken for the Society by Mr. Donald Ferguson. The slip proofs are well in hand, and it is hoped that this valuable publication will be issued in 1908. It will be available for purchase by the general public.

Your Council note with satisfaction that the following work, which, though not a publication of the Society, is important on its bearing on early Ceylon History, has been published in the Government Press, viz., "The Dípavamsa and Mahávamsa, and their Historical Development in Ceylon," by Professor W. Geiger. translated by E. M. Coomáraswámy.

## LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library including parts of Periodicals, numbered 305.

The Library is indebted for donations to:—The Secretary to the Government of India; Mr. C. A. Sherring; Dr. A. Carroll. M.A.; the Honourable the Colonial Secretary; the Government



of Madras ; the Archæological Survey of India ; Mr. G. A. Joseph ; Ministerio de Formento ; l'Ecole Française d'Extreme ; Sir R. C. Temple ; the Siam Society ; Professor Chas. Duroiselle ; Mr. M. A. C. Mohamad ; l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg ; Museo Nacional de Mexico ; Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College ; the Postmaster-General, Ceylon ; the Planters' Association of Ceylon ; the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool ; Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Menas del Peru ; Revista da Comissão Archeologica da India Portuguesa.

Owing to there being no shelf accommodation, and also to the heavy demands made on account of printing, no books were bound during the year.

The Society has met with tokens of appreciation of its work from scientific bodies which have requested exchange of publications. The Society has been obliged owing to their number to refuse many applications for exchanges.

The Society exchange list stands at present as follows :—

#### *Exchange List.*

The Secretary, Royal Society of Victoria, Australia ; the Royal University of Upsala, Sweden ; the Secretary, Royal Geographical Society, London ; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, U.S.A. ; the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. ; the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ; the Buddhist Text Society of India ; U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. ; Wagner Institute of Sciences, Philadelphia, U.S.A. ; the Geological Survey, New York, U.S.A. ; the Field Columbian Museum, Chicago ; the State Archives, The Hague, Netherlands ; the Bureau of Education Washington, U.S.A. ; Societe Zoologique, Paris ; the Anthropologische Gesellschaft Koniggrätzer, Strasse, Berlin ; the Batavia-asch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia ; the Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Germany ; the American Oriental Society, Connecticut, U.S.A. ; the Royal Society of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia ; the California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco, U.S.A. ; la Sociétié Imperiales de Naturales de Moscow, Russia ; the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ; the Asiatic Society of Japan ; the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland ; the Indian Museum ; the Madras Literary Society ; the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; the K. K. Naturhistorischen Hofmuscums, Vienna ; the Musée Guimet, Paris ; the Zoological Society of London ; the John Hopkins's University, Baltimore, U.S.A. ; the Geological Society of London ; the Anthropological Institute, Great Britain and Ireland ; the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada ; the Royal Colonial Institute, London ; the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ; Koninklyk Instituut voor de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, Holland ; the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia ; the Mission Archæologique d'Indo-China, Saigon ; the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ; the

Techno-Chemical Laboratory, Bombay; the University Library, Cambridge; the Director-General of Archæology, India; l'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient, Hanoi; the Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum, London.

#### ACCOMMODATION.

The Council note with pleasure that the extension of the eastern wing of the Museum has been taken in hand. With its completion it is hoped that much-needed room will be available for the expansion and proper arrangement of the Library.

#### VEDDÁ RESEARCH.

On the representation of the Council of this Society, and by the exertions of the Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, and Dr. A. Willey, F.R.S., Vice-President of the Society, the services of Dr. C. G. Seligmann were secured through Professor Haddon, F.R.S., on behalf of the Ceylon Government, to investigate the Sociology, &c., of the Veddás. The Government voted a sum of Rs. 4,500 in the Colombo Museum estimates for this important investigation.

Dr. Seligmann arrived on December 16 and is now at work in the Veddá country. He has promised on the completion of field labours to deliver an illustrated lecture at a General Meeting of the Society.

#### ARCHÆOLOGY.

The following skeleton sketch of its operations during 1907, kindly furnished by the Archæological Commissioner (supplemented by coloured drawings, photographs, and "finds" for exhibition at this Meeting), affords ample evidence of the steady progress of the Archæological Survey:—

#### I.—Anurádhapura.

##### (1) *Clearing.*

The Rs. 3,000 moiety of the clearing vote was, as usual, devoted to the annual weeding of the main areas marked by ruins and the rooting out of saplings and undergrowth, as far as funds permitted.

From 1908 a further sum of Rs. 2,000 has been sanctioned by the Government to enable the Archæological Commissioner to cope fully with the many and extensive areas in and around Anurádhapura every year, instead of being only able to work off a certain portion annually.

##### (2) *Excavation.*

*Vessagiriya.*—In 1906 the most northerly, and smallest, of the three groups of slab rock and boulders forming the ancient Vessagiriya *saṅghārāma* was freed of the earth and trees hiding the ruined remains of the chief *pirivēṇa*, or monks' residence, at this monastery.

During the early months of 1907 excavations were pushed gradually southwards at Vessagiriya, along the east side of the first and second rock clusters. Some dozen or more buildings have been unearthed, notably a small *dágaba* of the tenth century, two other circular ruins, and a fine *pīḷima-gé* (image-house). To the west of the second rock stretch so far only one ruin has been opened up. This was once a fine four-square *pīḷima-gé* (recalling the one excavated to the south of the Abhayagiriya *Dágaba*), with staircases on all sides, and a central shrine of moulded outline and elephant-head dado in limestone.

Everywhere at Vessagiriya the ruins have been greatly damaged and ruthlessly despoiled of their stone work, of which but little has survived.

From July no fresh excavation was attempted in Anurádhapura, the Archæological Commissioner being again single-handed (owing to his European Assistant's absence in England on six months' leave\*), and having to supervise at Polonnaruwa the work yearly undertaken at that ancient capital.

## II.—Polonnaruwa.

At Polonnaruwa very real progress was made between June and September, the dry months.

### *Survey of Polonnaruwa.*

The Survey Department has just completed, on the scale of two chains to the inch, a detailed survey of the ruins of Polonnaruwa from "*Potgul Vehera*" Monastery on the south as far north as the so-called "*Demala Mahá Seya*."

### *Clearing.*

A gang of Sinhalese villagers re-cleared the entire area of the ancient city, as far as hitherto opened out, of the scrub that yearly springs up with exasperating persistency, and hampers accessibility to the many scattered ruins of Polonnaruwa.

In addition a body of Moor axe men commenced to thin out systematically the dense forest, which prevented a comprehensive view being got from any distance of the northern groups of ancient structures—the two large *dágabas* (*Rankot Vehera* and *Kiri Vehera*), *Jétawanáráma Viháre*, and the *Gal Viháre* rock shrines.

In the course of the past season the opening up of a clear vista has been carried from *Rankot Vehera* as far northwards as *Jétawanáráma*, and forest trees, which unduly shut in the *Gal Viháre*, judiciously reduced.

The felling of the forest to the point completed in 1907 has been so beneficial in every way that it will be steadily proceeded with each season until Polonnaruwa can boast, no less than Anurádhapura, of its beautiful "ruin-studded park."

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\* Mr. J. Still has since resigned.

*Excavation.*

*Gal Viháré.*—The first site attacked in 1907 was the *Gal Viháré*. The colossal figures and rock-hewn shrine of this picturesquely wooded site renders it probably the most impressive antiquity preserved in Ceylon.

Altogether four images exist carved from the live rock.

Two are *ot-pīlima* or sedent figures of the Buddha.

The largest, 15 ft. 3 in. by 14 ft. 8 in., is seated in the cross-legged meditative *mūdrá*, upon an elaborate *ásanaya*, beneath an elaborately carved *torāna* (arch) of *makara* design; the other, in similar attitude, is at the back of a rock-hewn shrine.

The third, on the extreme right, is a recumbent image (*śeṭa pīlima*) 46 ft. 2 in. from head to foot. The figure is represented, in orthodox fashion, lying on its right side, with right arm and hand on a pillow under the head, the left arm being straightened along the body.

But it is the solitary life-like figure, traditionally styled *Ananda*, the favourite disciple of the Buddha, standing erect with crossed arms on a lotus pedestal 24 ft. from the rock floor, which appeals specially to the imagination, from its sorrow-stricken expression and natural attitude of deep mourning. This statue is, *par excellence*, the most artistic and well conceived to be found anywhere in the Island.

Each of the four images was originally enclosed within its own massively walled brick shrine, and could thus be seen but darkly, in that "dim religious light" which nearly all creeds seem to affect for their sanctuaries.

The superincumbent earth and *débris* which hid the basements of all these shrines has been wholly removed, and the ground between them cut down to the former level.

*Siva Déválé No. 1.*—This magnificent granite ruin of the Hindú cult—strangely for years past mistermmed the "*Daladá Máligáwa*," or "Shrine of the Tooth Relic," the palladium of Buddhism—lies just south of the main quadrangle, in which are situated that wonderful coterie of Buddhist shrines where architectural features of Ceylon, of Southern India, Kambodia, and perhaps Burma, mingle in strange yet happy proximity.

The extensive premises of the Déválé were dug from end to end. Comparatively little excavation was needed at the main shrine, which must have been freed of earth and gutted at no distant period. It consists of the customary triplet of rooms, a *mandapam*, open to the sky, preceding the *vimána* and its vestibule, both walled and ceiled with stone slabs. The domed roof of the *adytum* has wholly disappeared, after being probably dug through to get at the contents of the shrine, which no longer remain *in situ*.

The style of the architecture of this ruin is pronouncedly Dravidian, and of striking beauty. Not a finer example exists in Ceylon.

*Siva Dēvālēs Nos. 4, 5, 6.*—At the close of the season work was started, and about half finished, at an isolated group of Hindú Dēvālēs on the minor road to Aṭut-oya, outside the city walls. There are three fanes in all: one in granite of the same class as the Siva Dēvālēs Nos. 1 and 2 (dealt with in 1907 and 1906 respectively), but of less importance; the other two, which stand side by side, built wholly of brick and mortar.

So far only the granite Dēvālē (No. 4), lying some 50 yards to the east of the brick shrines, and the most southerly (No. 5) of the latter pair, have been excavated. These differ but little in plan from the congerie of Dēvālēs excavated in 1902 on the Minnēriya-Polonnaruwa road, which are not very far distant. But the former are more ornate, and far better preserved.

All three of these Hindú shrines were also probably sacred to Siva, or to his son Ganēsha, the elephant-head god.

The remaining Dēvālē (No. 6) of this group will be exploited next year (1908).

*Road to the distant Ruins.*—The great drawback felt by visitors to Polonnaruwa—next to the want of a resthouse—has been the need of a driving road to the further ruins, among which *Rankot Vehera*, *Jetawanārāma*, *Kiri Vehera*, and the *Gal Vihārē* stand out pre-eminent.\*

That defect no longer exists. The Archaeological Survey has, during the past season, improved the minor road (by a necessary deviation to avoid slab rock), and run a branch road for a third of a mile direct thence to these more distant ruins. They are now quite easy to reach without fatigue.

#### *Restoration and Conservation.*

“*Thūpārāma.*”—The fallen portion of the back (west) wall was rebuilt so as to unite with the vaulted roof in 1906, and the wide lateral cracks strongly filled in.

Last season (1907) the longitudinal crack along the entire soffit of the shrine's vaulted roof, and the gaping and extensive cracks in the bearing walls and intrados of the arched passage between vestibule and shrine which penetrated through to the roof, were joined up. Three equally dangerous cracks in the north wall face outside—near its west end, at the north-west junction of vestibule and shrine, and in the tympanum above the north doorway—have been cleaned and all refilled with brick and cemented masonry.

Like cracks on the east remain to be similarly treated in 1908, before the flat roof and its massy square tower can be safely touched with a view to final strengthening.

The narrow staircase leading through the south wall of the vestibule on to the roof was rebuilt in 1906. An iron railing has since (1907) been fixed on the off side as essential to safety.

*Waṭa-dā-gē.*—The close of the 1906 season saw this unique “circular relic shrine”—without exception the finest monument of *Buddhistic* architecture in stone to be seen in the Island—

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\* The “*Demala-mahā-seya*” (so-called) is situated a mile or more further north still.

restored in its upper part along the north-east and north-west quadrants, including the three highly ornamental stairways at the cardinal points north, east, and west, besides the bay portico on the north.

In 1907 the restoration of the structure was carried to full completion, as far as practicable, by the resetting of the ornamental stylobate round the south face from the west to the east, and the rebuilding of the displaced southern stairs. The south-west quadrant proved to be the most damaged of the four, and its renewal gave much trouble; but has been satisfactorily accomplished.

Besides the refixing of the stone revetment and broken pillars of the higher platform, the whole of the pavement slabs of the lower *maḥuwa* have been taken up and relaid. Finally, the circular retaining wall of the platform (temporarily replaced in 1903) has been rebuilt, and all work pointed in cement.

An excellent bird's-eye view of the "*Waṭa-dā-gé*," as thus restored, is now obtainable from the roof of "*Thūpārāma*" Vihāré.

The Government may possibly augment from next year the present inadequate vote of Rs. 5,000 for the restoration and preservation of ancient monuments. Many worthy ruins in Ceylon call for urgent attention.

#### *Epigraphy.*

The belated Parts, II. and III., of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* were published during 1907. by Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickremesinghe in England.

The Government has very judiciously decided to place Mr. Wickremesinghe for the future under the direct supervision of Dr. A. H. Macdonell, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. This step will, it is hoped, lead to the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* being issued more regularly than hitherto.

Locally, the Archæological Survey continued during 1907 the collection of eye-copies and "estampages" of lithic records of the Island. The "squeezes" will be gradually photographed, and the negatives made available for the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* as required.

Many important inscriptions have thus been recorded from the Western, Southern, and Central Provinces in the course of the year. This desirable work will be carried on steadily from 1908, it being of high importance to secure copies of the Island's ancient and mediæval epigraphs before the fatuous treasure hunter destroys more of these palæographically valuable records.

#### *Finds.*

Asplendid collection of bronze images, some twenty and upwards in all, varying in height up to 3 ft., was unearthed at the Hindú Dēvālās Nos. 1, 4, and 5, during the season's work at those ruins. The bronzes are perfectly preserved, and as specimens of skilled metal workmanship and art are marvellous, alike in the spirited action they exhibit and in finished detail. All relate to the worship of Siva.

The most striking, repeated more than once, is the figure of Mahá Déva (Siva), in a halo, dancing on the Daitiya, Tripurasura, whom he slew after a combat lasting ten days.

Several stone figures of the Hindú pantheon, both in *bas* and *alto relievo*, were also exhumed.

All these "finds" have been transferred to the Colombo Museum.

### III.—*Sigiriya.*

#### *Clearing.*

The whole of the area within *Sigiri-nuwara* to the west and north of the Rock was re-cleared by village labour in 1907.

Next season (1908) the enceinte of the city on the east (marked by a high ramp, which has become overgrown with dense impenetrable jungle), and the Mápá-gala rocks to the south, will be cleared afresh.

#### *Restoration and Conservation.*

The exposed ruined brickwork of the "Lion-Staircase-House" (through which the stairway mounts by right-angled turns to the foot of the iron ladders leading to the summit) has been gradually washing away since its excavation owing to the action of water falling on it from the Rock.

To save the structure early action was necessary. In 1907, accordingly, as a first step, the bulging side walls flanking the stairs and landings were strongly rebuilt plumb. The western slopes of the mound, which are at present very deeply scoured by the fall of the water from above, will be attended to next year (1908), and those on the east in 1909. It is absolutely essential to render the brickwork quite secure everywhere, if ascent to the summit of the Rock is to be kept open.

Preliminary work was also commenced with the view of diverting the water, which at present falls from a fissure in the Rock on to the gallery wall near its north-west end, and is endangering stability. Due protection by an iron and concrete ledging fixed to the Rock above will be given at this point in next season.

#### COUNCIL.

Two Members of Council, viz., Dr. J. C. Willis and Mr. E. B. Denham, being by virtue of Rule 16 deemed to have retired by reason of least attendance, the vacancies were filled by the appointment of the Hon. Mr. G. M. Fowler C.M.G., and the Hon. Mr. Justice A. Wood Renton. Dr. Coomáraswámy having resigned, the vacancy on the Council was filled by the appointment of Mr. P. E. Pieris. M.A., C.C.S.

#### HONORARY OFFICERS

His Excellency Sir H. E. McCallum consented to become Patron of the Society, and the Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford and the Hon. Sir Joseph T. Hutchinson to be elected Vice-Patrons.

## PAPERS FOR 1908.

The following Papers have been received :—

- (1) "Notes on the Smith Caste in the Kandyan Provinces," by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.
- (2) "Letters from Rája Sígha II.," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- (3) "The Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731-1732 &c.," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
- (4) "Greek Influence on Indian Art," by Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy.
- (5) "Notes on some of the lesser known Hills of the Batticaloa District and Lower Úva," by Mr. F. Lewis.
- (6) Translation of a Dutch manuscript entitled "The Dutch East India Company and the Peace of Amiens. 1802," by Mr. A. E. Buultjens, B.A.
- (7) Translation of a Dutch manuscript entitled "The Execution of Petrus Vuyst, Governor of Ceylon, 1726-1729," by Mr. A. E. Buultjens, B.A.

## FINANCES.

Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A., who had been Treasurer since February, 1904, having resigned office, Mr. G. A. Joseph was appointed Treasurer, in addition to his duties as Honorary Secretary. Mr. Joseph assumed duties in April.

The Council wish to record their sense of the valuable services Mr. R. H. Ferguson rendered from 1904 to 1906 as Honorary Treasurer of the Society.

The accounts of the Society are shown in the balance sheet annexed under the usual heads (from April 4 to December 31, 1907). The credit balance of the Society at the close of the year was Rs. 343·45. There was heavy expenditure (Rs. 1,332·10) on account of printing Papers for the Journal. The actual receipts for the year, including annual grant, entrance fees, and subscriptions, and arrears of subscriptions collected, amounted to Rs. 2,913·61.

[For statement see page 54.]

## CONCLUSION.

The Society now counts sixty-two years since its foundation.

The co-operation of all Members is solicited in its work, in order that the aims and objects of the Society may be promoted to the best advantage.

## PATRON'S ADDRESS.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR said : I should like before putting the Annual Report to the Meeting to make one or two remarks myself.



*Balance Sheet for 1907.*

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	c.	EXPENDITURE.		Rs.	c.
Balance from 1906 (from April 4, 1907) ..	692	36	Printing	..	1,332	10
Sale of Publications* ..	1	0	Charges Account	..	481	75
Life Membership Payments	239	0	Establishment and Salaries	..	739	18
Entrance Fees ..	189	0	Books Account	..	37	13
			Balance to 1908	..	323	45†
Annual Subscriptions :—	Rs.	c.				
1893-1901	47	25				
1902	10	50				
1903	15	75				
1904	5	25				
1905	68	25				
1906	225	75				
1907	919	50				
	1,292	25				
Government grant for 1907	500	0				
	Total	..			Total	..
		2,913				61

\* Amount realized by the agents during 1907 not received yet.

† In fixed deposit Rs. 1,218·22, and interest on same from August 13, 1907.

GERARD A. JOSEPH,  
Honorary Treasurer.

In the first place, reference has been made in the Report to Papers on Coins prepared by Mr. Still, the Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner, Mr. H. C. P. Bell. Mr. Still's state of health was such that he could not continue his work in connection with the archaeology of the Island; and he has tendered his resignation. I was sorry to lose the services of Mr. Still, and addressed telegraphic communication to the Secretary of State offering him an appointment as one of the Assistant Land Settlement Officers. This Mr. Still has accepted.

The Report calls attention to the fact that the Society has only 253 Members, and appeals especially to the officers of the Services that they should become Members. I cordially endorse the remark which has been made. I shall do all I possibly can to show Government officers how important it is to take part in the proceedings of the Society, even in a small way. Looking at the opportunities that officers of the Government Service have, in out-of-the-way places, to study subjects of interest to the Society, they should be able to contribute to the proceedings, and at all events take an interest in its welfare.

On looking into the matter since my arrival in the Colony, I found that the Reports of the Archaeological Commissioner were much in arrear. In view of the fact that Mr. Bell is getting on in life, as several of us here are doing, I thought it was very much more desirable that the Annual Reports connected with the excavations, &c., that he had made for so many years should be put on record, rather than that he should, by continuing excavations, accumulate an additional mass of undigested matter. I gave directions, therefore, that before further excavations were made Mr. Bell should bring his Reports up to date. Mr. Bell is already making up leeway, and all the records of the valuable researches he has made in the past will be brought up to date before fresh field work is undertaken.

As regards the question of the restoration and preservation of ancient ruins, I think it a duty which we owe not only to the Society, but to the whole body politic of Ceylonese, that the Government should help and push forward the matter. The amount which has been put on the Estimates during the last few years has been a very limited one; but in the programme of works to be charged to surplus balances which I propose to lay before the Secretary of State provision will be made—and I hope it will meet with His Lordship's concurrence—for a much larger sum each year during the next five years for the work of restoration and conservation of the Island's ancient monuments.

The remarks in the Annual Report made about Mr. Bell having had to work single-handed leads me to inform you of the arrangements which have been come to in consequence of Mr. Still's retirement. Lately whilst at Anurádhapura I consulted Mr. Bell as to what arrangements should be made to best further the work of archaeological research he is carrying on. I am glad to say that he has reported to me that two native gentlemen, who have been assisting him for years past in the work, are qualified to

carry on the work which Mr. Still has previously been doing. I have, therefore, assented to these two native gentlemen\* taking up between them the work which Mr. Still has done hitherto.

There is a gentleman—being a stranger to the Island, to me he has an unpronounceable name†—who has been at Oxford for some years engaged to bring out the “*Epigraphia Zeylanica*.” I was not at all satisfied with the progress made. I do not think that that gentleman put such backbone into the work as he ought to have done, nor that he has paid that amount of attention to the work which he might have done. I have, therefore, made arrangements that in future the work which he will do will be done practically by contract within certain periods; and that, instead of the publication being brought out after long lapses of time, we shall have at all events a certain amount of work deliverable every twelve months.

These are the one or two points which I thought might be of interest to Members of the Society. I have therefore inflicted these remarks upon you before putting the question of the passing of the Report to the Meeting.

3. Mr. F. LEWIS proposed the adoption of the Report.

Mr. F. C. ROLES seconded, adding that they were grateful to His Excellency for his remarks.

The motion was carried.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS.

4. On the motion of Mr. E. Evans, seconded by Mr. James Pieris, the following Office-Bearers for the year 1908 were elected :—

*President*.—The Hon. Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G.

*Vice Presidents*.—The Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis, M.A., C.C.S.;  
A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.; Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P.;  
Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S.

#### *Council.*

Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.	Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A.,
Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.	LL.M.
Dr. W. H. de Silva, M.B., C.M.,	Mr. A. M. Gunasékera. Muda-
F.R.C.S.	liyár.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.	Mr. James Parsons, B.Sc.
Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Muda-	Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A.,
liyár.	C.C.S.
The Hon. Mr. Justice A. Wood	Mr. E. R. Goonaratna, J.P.,
Renton.	Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.	

*Honorary Treasurer*.—Mr. G. A. Joseph.

*Honorary Secretaries*.—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S.,  
J. Harward, M.A., and G. A. Joseph.

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\* Messrs. D. A. L. Perera and W. G. Fernando.

† D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

5. The PRESIDENT (Mr. FERGUSON): It is my duty and pleasure to return thanks on behalf of the Office-Bearers of the Society for their unanimous election on the present occasion ; and in doing so I would offer a very few remarks, as President, by way of congratulation on the steadily improving position of the Society so far as Membership is concerned, while expressing thanks for the very sympathetic address on this point of His Excellency.

The addition of 45 new Members in the past year brings our list up to 253, a larger number than was ever before on the roll of the Society.

Nor is there any lack of interesting Papers. Seven were read during 1907, while seven more are in the hands of the Council, and will probably be read and printed during the present year. I may mention that while, with the aid of the Government Printer, the Members have lately received Journal No. 58, the issue of No. 59 will follow very shortly. There is only one of the past year's Papers to which I would allude, that of Mr. J. Pole on "Prehistoric Stones." It is merely to mention that since it was written Mr. Bruce Foote and Dr. Seligmann have both recognized the interest attaching to Mr. Pole's discoveries, as, indeed, the Messrs. Sarasin had done while in Ceylon.

Last year we, as a Council, if not Society, deprecated the reprinting by Government of Wijésinha's translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, pending the appearance of Dr. Geiger's revised text ; but as nothing has been heard of the latter, and there is an urgent call for copies of the English translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, none being in stock, the printing of an *ad interim* edition would seem to be necessary.

We are thankful to Government also for sanctioning the resumption of the use of diacritical type in printing the *Mahāvaṃsa* and learned Papers of the Society.

We are all congratulating ourselves on the approaching completion of the new wing of the Museum.

We have specially to thank His Excellency and his Government for the vote which has made it possible to set agoing a full and final scientific investigation of the Vēddās, as so earnestly desired by Professor Virchow more than a quarter of a century ago and by British anthropologists ever since. Dr. and Mrs. Seligmann have now been for some time engaged on the task. I may mention that in a private letter from the Doctor, dated the 4th instant, he reports satisfactory progress and the garnering of a good deal of new information, and how Mrs. Seligmann's presence has added much to the success of the expedition. Dr. Seligmann also confirms his promise to give an evening's "talk" before our Society ere he leaves the Island, and he mentions that some of his coloured (apart from ordinary) photographs have been successful.

There is only one thing more I would venture to mention before I sit down, and that is the poverty of our Society in the face of much useful work devolving upon it. Our Society has existed for sixty-two years, and it has done a good deal of investigation that would otherwise have devolved on the

Government, while to it belongs the credit of suggesting the Colombo Museum and Archaeological Survey. Government is kind enough to make a grant of Rs. 500 a year, but our worthy Secretaries do not see how they are to meet all the calls made upon them unless this sum is increased to Rs. 1,500. With His Excellency and the Colonial Secretary present it will not do to press this request; but I would like to just illustrate how our poverty affects us. We had an interesting application in January last from the Government Agent, Central Province, Mr. J. P. Lewis, a Vice-President of the Society, for a small sum to be devoted to the erection of one or two stones, or pillars, marking historical spots, such as where Robert Knox and his fellow-prisoners resided some 230 years ago in the neighbourhood of Kandy. We were very sympathetic as a Council, and felt Mr. Lewis ought to be supported; but unfortunately the state of our funds would not permit our doing justice to our feelings, and the appeal had to be declined. Fortunately in this case the generosity of some nine or ten colonists, when applied to, brought in the amount required by Mr. Lewis. But it is a fact that the Council and Officers would feel relieved if the Society's purse were strengthened, and this is a hint to the intelligent public, and especially the Public Service, to give us more Members, as much as to the Government.

6. Mr. P. FREUDENBERG said: Before I read Dr. Moszkowski's Paper on the Veddás, allow me to introduce him to you. He was a member of the Selenka Expedition that passed through Ceylon a year ago, bound for Java to scrutinize the correctness of Dr. Derbois's assertion that he had found the *Pithekanthropos*, the missing link. In parenthesis, be it said that the result was not favourable to Dr. Derbois, and that the missing link is still missing. When Dr. M. arrived in Ceylon, the Drs. Sarasin were in the Island to study the remaining traces of the lithic age of the Veddás. They arranged for his meeting the tribe he describes. Before Dr. M. left he promised, as a return for the courtesy he had received at the hands of the authorities at Badulla, to write a short Paper on his visit for the Society, and two months ago, when passing through homeward bound, he redeemed his pledge.

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## AMONGST THE LAST VEDDÁS.

By DR. MOSZKOWSKI.

IN Ceylon at the present time real genuine Veddás are only found in the north-east corner of the Province of Úva, in the neighbourhood of Nilgala; it is said though that there are Veddás left in Bintenna and the Eastern Province, but these are mingled with Sinhalese elements to such a degree, and have abandoned their habits and language so completely, that they really cannot be called Veddás any longer. They are called Village-Veddás, whilst the genuine Veddás are described as Hill or Rock-Veddás.

It seems to me this way of distinguishing them is no longer exact, as the so-called Rock-Veddás likewise build houses occasionally and live in villages. It would be more correct to speak of *Sinhalese* and *genuine Veddás*.

The most eminent scientists, amongst others the Drs. Sarasin, hold that the Veddás belong to the New Guinea race. They are clearly of common origin with the Sakeis in Malacca, with the Sakeis in Sumatra whom I discovered, and the Papuas of the Molukka Islands and New Guinea. It is a dolichocephalous race, characterized by an almost incredible want of psychical and intellectual faculties.

The first condition for the development of a people is a distinct sense of causality, the desire to ask the reason why. This desire, which appears strongest in the Aryan and particularly in the Germanic peoples, is entirely wanting in the Veddás, and, I may add, the Sakeis, amongst whom I have lived for months, and whom I have studied carefully.

We assume, from the point of view of German idealistic philosophy, that our surroundings are not what they appear to us, but are the creation of our intellect. We receive impressions; they cause sensations, which come immediately and

directly to our understanding. Our inherent craving for causality compels us to find the cause of these sensations. Thus, the objects of the outer world are really our sensations projected into the three-dimensional space. The more sensitive we are to impressions from outside, the more our sense of causality is developed, the richer and more varied the outer world will be to us. The lowest type of man will only respond to the strongest impressions. He will only notice what touches him directly, what compels him to feel. This is particularly conspicuous in the language of the Veddás. They have words for the sun and the moon, but none for the stars. They are aware that during the night "things like eyes" appear on the sky, but they are only dimly conscious of the existence of stars.

They are also without general ideas. They have words for the elephant, several birds, bears, &c., but none for "animal," and they are not aware that elephants, bears, panthers, birds, have anything in common.

Their predilection for white is striking, and has also been noticed by former observers. When I presented a Veddá with a pretty red cloth he threw it contemptuously over his shoulder, but when I gave him a much smaller white handkerchief he shouted and danced for joy round me. Perhaps all *colour* is considered by them as *not* white, viz., dirty? Perhaps their sense for differentiating in colour is not developed?

It was most interesting to see the impression a looking-glass made upon them. Surely they must have seen their own image in water, but they never realized it probably. I gave them a looking-glass that was somewhat mouldy, in which their likeness appeared indistinctly; they looked at it and put it away without saying anything. I then cleaned the glass and made them look again. One of them, a young man, seized his axe and began to shout furiously in a rough hoarse voice about an ugly black animal which ought to go or he would kill it. The words were often interrupted by interjections like "ah" and "oh." When the first had done, the second began to shout and to threaten in the same way. I had some trouble in calming them and in explaining to them the nature of the looking-glass by stepping behind them and making them see me in the glass. An aversion for anything

new is very typical of their psychical reaction, as also of the paucity of their conceptions and sensitive faculty. Unusual impressions are actually painful to them.

I saw Vēddás (Duni-gala Vēddás) first in Bibile. But they could not be reconciled to the surroundings, though they had been in Bibile before. They did not realize the enormous difference between the substantially built resthouse at Bibile and their miserable huts; they only felt that it was "otherwise here" than at home, and this "otherwise" was distasteful to them.

Over and over again they gathered their belongings and wanted to go home. They did not know, they said, what had become of their wives and children in the meantime—three days only. They were ill-humoured, depressed, stubborn, and self-willed. How different were the same people when I saw them in their own village, and how very much more lively was their arrow-dance. Whilst they hardly looked at presents at Bibile, they danced with joy in their own surroundings when a trifling gift was to their liking.

Much has been written about the religion of the Vēddás. I am firmly convinced—and my study of the Sakeis leads to the same conclusion—that the genuine Vēddás, like the Sakeis, have no distinct conception of a God. What the Tamilized and Sinhialized half-civilized Coast Vēddás tell is not to be considered as the Vēddá creed, for under the influence and following the example of their teachers they have made a new creed for themselves. The absence of this conception is explained by the insignificant ætiological cravings of such aboriginal peoples.

The notion of God, or (what at the first beginning is the same) of an evil spirit, may be considered the outcome of ignorance. Where our strong ætiological want was not satisfied, there arose the conception of a supernatural power, usually regarded as hostile. This has nothing in common with the modern notion of God in the Aryan world, which was formed in quite a different way. The Aryan notion of God arose in a teleological way as an answer to the question: "Why are things as they are," and is therefore the expression of an already very complicated desire of causality, which wants to know not only the origin but also the purpose.



The basis of all primitive religions is the dread of forces, against which man is powerless, and with regard to which he receives no answer to his question "Why." Thus, the first gods are always what we should call evil spirits. Among the Sakeis I found such a belief in evil spirits. All that is pernicious is caused by the "Hantu." The object of the few religious ceremonies of the Sakeis is to render the Hantu harmless by persuasion or by force.

The Veddá, according to my opinion, is not even so far developed.

If a Sakei falls ill, he is considered seized by the Hantu, who then is driven out by a series of ceremonies, which I am going to describe elsewhere. The Veddás, if anybody falls ill, simply wait till he recovers or dies. Fear of death is almost absent, and that is explained by the want of consciousness of their individuality. In short, I do not believe the many tales of a Veddá religion, or rather I believe that they are tales and legends of civilized Veddás and not of Veddás in their primitive state. No thoughts about the creation of the world, about salvation, or about guilt and punishment trouble the Veddás. The New Guinea race stands, as regards the inner life of feeling and intellect, about on the level of the earlier lithic period, and amongst the three peoples Veddá, Sakei, and Papua, the Veddás rank lowest.

The only genuine Veddás live, as I said before, in the forests of the north-east corner of the Province of Úva, on the Dunigala ridge near the villages Hénebedda and Kolongala, about 30 to 35 miles east of Bibile and the main road.

They have no fixed abodes. Formerly they were considered to be nomads or hunters or graziers. The Veddás have never been graziers; the few fowls and dogs they keep are of no account. They have ceased to be hunters pure and simple; they plant, but they still remain nomads, just like their cousins in Sumatra and New Guinea. They clear a bit of forest, plant maize, tapioca (their principal food), some millet, and a few pumpkins, all produce of the field that does not require much cultivation. They do not till the soil, but only grow fruits. Where their plantings are they also build their huts of mud, roofed with dried jungle grass. A year after

they move on, pull their houses down, and settle on another piece of cleared forest land. The old village is soon overgrown with jungle. In the meantime they often live in caves or leaf-huts in the forest. They are still unable to make knives, arrows, adzes, or cloths, and have to buy them from the Sinhalese.

Their relation to the Sinhalese is curious. The Veddás do not like the Sinhalese, who have driven them out and disinherited them. They are particularly furious when the Sinhalese laugh at them. They hide their women and daughters carefully before the covetous eyes of the Sinhalese.

At Bibile already they had aimed repeatedly at Sinhalese men who they thought had been ridiculing them, and when my Sinhalese coolies tried to enter the village Hénabedda with me, all arrows were on the strings at once, so that the coolies instantly ran away. On the other hand, Sinhalese who take refuge with them and move them to pity are well received and are allowed to remain. Amongst the Sinhalese, however, the Veddás enjoy a certain consideration akin to awe. They are considered high caste, as equal in rank to Sinhalese nobility, and are a little feared, as being, according to tradition, the descendants of the “Yakkó,” the demons.

I estimate the number of real Veddás to-day at about 50, so that practically this people must be considered extinguished.

What is the reason of this rapid dying out? Twenty years ago there were, it is said, still thousands of them. Great mortality of children, the want of medicines and doctors, insufficient food, &c., are probably only the secondary causes—the means by which nature obtains its object. The real reason is the absolute impossibility to implant culture into these aborigines, to make them do reproductive work. Representatives of very old and forgotten periods, they are an anachronism in our time. They are a jungle race, and only in the jungle do they find their true existence, material and psychical, especially the latter. Our modern materialism is only too prone to ignore such “imponderabilia.”

All the great animals of the virgin forest—elephant, rhinoceros, &c.—perish before advancing culture, all exertions to preserve them are in vain. So also the Veddás have ceased to exist, being unable to accommodate themselves to altered

circumstances. Out of the forest they lose all energy, all vitality. All their faculties centre in the life of the forest, and when they were brought in contact with the life and ideas of Europe their hour had sounded.

The Veddás have succumbed to civilization.

7. HIS EXCELLENCY invited remarks on the Paper, which he characterized as very interesting.

Mr. F. LEWIS read a report of a debate which took place in the Legislative Council on November 17, 1840, in the time of Governor Stewart Mackenzie, with regard to the Veddás :—

Mr. J. A. Stewart Mackenzie made reference to a grant that he proposed making to the Veddás in Bintenna. Instructions had been sent to him as early as 1838 to inquire into the state of the Veddá population, that he had intended visiting the Veddá country, but had been prevented by unforeseen circumstances. Accordingly, the Governor of that date suggested to Mr. Atherton, the then Resident Assistant Government Agent of Batticaloa, that he desired his investigation as to the number and condition of that portion of the Veddá population designated Rock Veddás, from the circumstance of their having no other habitation than in the rock. Mr. Atherton appears to have been accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Stott, a Wesleyan Missionary of Batticaloa, and the report then made was that in Bintenna alone thirty families were found inhabiting rocks, with scarcely a rag to cover them. The Governor goes on to comment on this state of affairs, and added that the suggestion to the Assistant Government Agent was that he was to endeavour to induce these inhabitants of the rocks to locate themselves upon portions of land to be given up to them for cultivation, with a grant of land, &c. Continuing his remarks further, the Governor proceeded to refer to the number of these people, and he said : “ There are other families of Rock Veddás in Bintenna, the exact number I cannot state, but it probably does not exceed *twenty* families.” He also added in his next sentence : “ It is proper to explain that this class of Veddá is entirely distinct from Village Veddás, who are very numerous, scattered over a wide extent of country, very poor and destitute.” The Right Hon. gentleman, in closing his remarks on the subject, drew a painful picture by saying : “ Such was the destitution of some of these families that they possessed but one mamoty among them to cultivate the soil. Such was their want of weapons for defence or pursuit of game to live upon that but one arrow was left in the family, to the head of whom the Assistant Agent afforded what the aged Veddá could scarcely count, a dozen of their missile weapons.”

Mr. Lewis added some interesting observations of his own as to the distinction between the different classes of supposed Veddás, one of whom he found spoke Tamil and another Tamil as well as Sinhalese. In a part of the Province of Úva an old and very intelligent Kórála corroborated to Mr. Lewis the statement made

in the Paper read as to the Veddás' dislike of ridicule. The old Kórála said if anybody laughed the Veddá would immediately draw his arrow—a statement that also confirmed one that was made in a lecture by a Mr. Stephens at the Meeting of the Society many years ago, and which was at the time discredited. The real Veddás in that part of the country were totally distinguished from the Batticaloa Veddás. Commenting on the figures, Mr. Lewis said it would be interesting to know how the disintegration of the Veddás took place. He thought it would be found that a good deal of it was due to intermingling with other people.

Mr. HUGH CLIFFORD said it occurred to him that they might like to hear something of the Sakai people, whose name had been frequently mentioned in the Paper that had been read to them by Mr. Freudenberg. It was at one time his fortune to live for extensive periods of time among the Sakais in the very centre of the Malay Peninsula. The people at that time were so primitive that many of them were unacquainted with the Malay language, and their numerals in their own language were only three. For everything over that they had a word that meant "many," so that whether they were speaking about the amount of their crop or the number of children they had the same word was used to describe any number over three.

One thing that struck him in the Paper just read was that among the Veddás nothing in the nature of general terms were in use. For instance, it was stated that the Veddás had no word for star. With all due deference to the learned gentleman who wrote that Paper, he (Mr. Clifford) would require some very convincing evidence before he would accept that statement. The Sakais, whose primitive character he had already indicated, and the Pangan or Semang, whose appearance was very much like that of a West Indian negro seen through the wrong end of an opera glass—that is, they were similar in general appearance, but very small—were so primitive that they did not plant at all, but hunted, and with their wives and children passed in small family groups from one part of the forest to the other, picking up a sadly precarious sustenance by the game they were able to destroy and such roots as they were able to grub out of the soil, yet even these people undoubtedly had a word for a star, though he had not been able to discover whether they had any name for any particular constellation. They had a name for the moon, and the sun also with them was the "eye of day."

There was one curious thing among the Sakais to which reference had been made, and that was their sense of colour. Among the Sakais there were only three colours, though they were gifted with a wonderful eyesight, which enabled them to see with an extraordinary clearness in the deepest recesses of the forest, that would surprise any trained human observer. They had no general name for colour itself, but they differentiated between three colours. When they came to think of it, as the Sakai had only three numerals, they could hardly expect him

to have more than three colours. A constant puzzle was to determine where white ended and red began; why some shades of blue were red and why others were white; and why a little deeper shade might be black. It was really impossible for any European to put an interpretation upon the three colours the Sakais had in use, but to the Sakais they were absolutely distinguished, and the same man would give you the same word for a number of colours. One was white and another was black, though to our eyes it was impossible to say where the distinction was made.

Another point which had been mentioned in the Paper, and which was very curiously illustrated among the Sakais, was the difficulty of making anything in the nature of a comparison. After walking all day with Sakais for his guides, and when feeling pretty weary toward the late evening, if one asked the Sakai who was guiding you how far it was to your destination as compared with what was behind, he would always say it was equally far, and when, if you reached the end of your journey three hundred yards farther on and tried to demonstrate to him the error of his judgment, he was utterly unable to comprehend your meaning. To him it was "equally far." The power of comparison might be said to be non-existent. You could not get them to see the difference between distances or anything intangible; but they could tell the difference between two objects, when it was something that could be measured by the hand or eye.

He (Mr. Clifford) very much doubted whether the Vēddās were really as devoid of religious belief as the lecturer would have them believe. It was extraordinarily difficult, in dealing with a very primitive people, first of all to make them comprehend what you wanted; and secondly, to induce them to give any information on matters of that sort. He had lived among the Sakai people for extended periods of time, and had become familiar with the tribes among whom he had lived, and he had been able to gain their confidence to a considerable degree. In the matter of their superstitions and beliefs he had always found them extremely shy and reserved, but he had good reasons to know that they entertained very strong opinions upon these particular subjects. He knew, for instance, that when one of their number died they would break up their camp, no matter whether they had planted or made arrangements for a long stay, because they were afraid of being haunted by the spirit of the departed. When they buried the dead, they presented them with different weapons and other gifts, and then, having carefully enumerated the articles which they had conferred upon the deceased and pointed out how grateful he ought to be for all these things, they would say: "You who are now under the earth go and make friends with those who are under the earth, and do not come back any more to trouble those that are above you." This pointed to a belief in after-life and a spiritual existence of some sort or other, almost invariably of

a malevolent description; and he felt sure that, if any one could get a thorough insight into the mind of the Veddás, which, of course, was an impossibility, he would find something there standing in the same relation as religion did to the civilized mind. No matter how primitive a race might be, something in the nature of a belief in the supernatural was engendered in man, as much as anything by the natural fear that the surroundings in which he constantly lived inspired in him, and which was found in the civilized child's dread of darkness—the fear of the unknown which was at the back of every human mind, and which he did not believe was absent in any people, no matter how primitive.

The speaker then gave an amusing description of a theory of the creation of the world in vogue among the Dusuns of North Borneo. The story, he remarked, illustrated how even the most primitive people could devise remarkably clever creation myths and explanations of problems which had puzzled humanity from the highest to the lowest ever since the Creator fashioned the universe.

8. Mr. C. M. FERNANDO. in proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Moszkowski for his Paper. said that the Society had been very lucky in the past, as, indeed, at present, in inviting and getting Papers, not only from its own Members, but from distinguished scientists, whose names were known in Europe. To-night they had a repetition of that happy experience, which was a sort of overture to the concert which was to come. He referred to the presence of Dr. and Mrs. Seligmann in Ceylon, who were living with the Veddás, and who would by and by endeavour to give them the latest information—the latest scientific knowledge—of these Ceylon aborigines. It was very sad to think that there were now only 50 real Veddás left alive. Possibly they would very soon be quite extinct. The thanks of the Society, and of all those interested in the Island's ancient history, were due to the Ceylon Government for having secured the services of Dr. Seligmann just in the nick of time. He had pleasure in congratulating the Society, not merely on the Paper read, but upon the very interesting light thrown upon it by the remarks of the Colonial Secretary. The writer, however, he agreed with Mr. Clifford, was surely somewhat inconsistent when he stated that the belief in a deity was preceded by a belief in an evil spirit, and yet that the Veddás who believed in a "yakká," which every one knew to be an evil spirit, did not believe in the corresponding good spirit. He ventured to think that the Professor had not sufficient time to gather the information of good as opposed to evil spirits. This, however, might act as a guide to Dr. Seligmann, who, thus attracted to notice the point, might in the future provide them with full information. With regard to the Veddás as a race, he believed they were the remnants of the people who once filled all Ceylon, and who were driven into the jungle, not by Western civilization, but by Aryan civilization. The Veddás were driven into the wilderness by an Aryan invasion of Ceylon prior to the

incidents mentioned in the *Rámáyana*, and when Vijaya landed in *Laṅká* the Island was already Aryanized and divided into a number of principalities, somewhat like England in the days of the Heptarchy. What Vijaya did was to consolidate the kingdom under one sceptre.

9. Dr. NELL seconded the proposition, observing that one of the points upon which he should like Dr. Seligmann's investigation to throw some light was as to whether the contention of some previous investigators that the *Veḍḍá* was an undeveloped man, with all the possibilities of civilization in him, was correct.

A. M. GUNASÉKERA, Mudaliyár, in supporting the proposition, said : The statement that the *Veḍḍás* had no word for "star" was not correct. They called the star *taru*, which is identical with the Eḷu word, and constellation *táruka gaḡga*, which is also derived from Sinhalese. The modern *Veḍḍá* dialect consisted mostly of words borrowed from Sinhalese and Tamil, some of which were very corrupt, and contained very few genuine *Veḍḍá* words. *Veḍḍás* were the descendants of the Yakkha race, which inhabited certain parts of Ceylon when Prince Vijaya, the first Sinhalese king, came over here from India 543 years before Christ. They appeared to be allied to the Bedans or Vedans of Southern India, the Jakuns of the Malayan Peninsula and Sumatra, and the Yakhos of the Himalayan territory. If careful investigation was made it would be found that they all had a common origin, viz., the Yakkha race. A comparative study of the genuine words of these races would greatly help such investigation and probably lead to such a conclusion.

10. The vote was carried with acclamation.

11. The PRESIDENT mentioned that in a Paper translated for them some twenty years ago, Professor Virchow, from his study in Germany of all the information he could collect about the *Veḍḍás*, considered they would be found to be allied to some of the hill tribes of Southern India. Governor Stewart Mackenzie nearly lost his life in trying to visit the *Veḍḍás*, Major Skinner having an anxious time in bringing him back safely. The last Census showed some hundreds of *Veḍḍás*. He felt sure that their discussion would interest Dr. Seligmann, who would probably direct some attention to points still in dispute.

He (the President) felt sure he was voicing the sentiments of every Member present in proposing a most cordial vote of thanks to the Governor for presiding that evening and for giving them one of the most sympathetic, as well as practical addresses they had ever had from the Chair of the Society.

Mr. P. ARUNÁCHALAM cordially seconded the resolution, which he felt sure would be carried by acclamation.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR, in acknowledging the vote, called attention to the splendid display of unique bronzes in the room, unearthed by the Archæological Survey last year. He thought they deserved to be carefully studied.

## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, May 4, 1908.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Arunácalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Mudaliyár.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

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*Business.*

1. Resolved,—That this Council desires to place on record its sense of the loss sustained by the lamented death of Dr. W. H. de Silva, a Member of Council for three years and a Member of the Society for fourteen years.

2. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on March 10, 1908.

3. Resolved,—The election of the following Members :—

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| (1) The Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford,                         | { (a) G. A. Joseph     |
| C.M.G. : recommended by                                  | { (b) C. M. Fernando.  |
| (2) W. E. Wait, M.A., C.C.S. : recom-                    | { (a) Frederick Lewis. |
| mended by  | { (b) G. A. Joseph.    |
| (3) L. A. Prins, L.R.C.P. & S. : { (a) R. G. Anthonisz.  |                        |
| recommended by   | { (b) F. H. de Vos.    |
| (4) W. A. S. de Vos, Proctor, { (a) R. G. Anthonisz.     |                        |
| S. C. : recommended by                                   | { (b) F. H. de Vos.    |
| (5) J. A. Gunaratna, Mudaliyár : { (a) R. G. Anthonisz.  |                        |
| recommended by   | { (b) S. de Silva.     |
| (6) C. W. Horsfall : recommended by                      | { (a) J. Ferguson.     |
|  | { (b) F. Lewis.        |
| (7) Hon. Mr. T. B. L. Moonemalle : { (a) C. M. Fernando. |                        |
| recommended by   | { (b) G. A. Joseph.    |
| (8) W. Vaughan, F.E.S. : recom-                          | { (a) H. White.        |
| mended by  | { (b) G. A. Joseph.    |
| (9) J. Mathieson : recommended by                        | { (a) J. Parsons.      |
|  | { (b) G. A. Joseph.    |
| (10) C. H. Jolliffe : recommended by                     | { (a) J. Harward.      |
|  | { (b) G. A. Joseph.    |



4. Laid on the table circular containing the opinions of Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and J. Harward on the Paper entitled "Greek Influence on Indian Art," by Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted, read at a Meeting, and printed in the Journal.

5. Laid on the table circular containing the opinions of Messrs. H. White and C. Driberg on the Paper entitled "Notes on some of the lesser known Hills of the Batticaloa District," by Mr. F. Lewis.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication ; but as the sketches of the inscriptions show that the inscriptions are obviously weathered and fragmentary, the drawings be not published.

6. Considered the desirability of asking Government to double the annual grant of Rs. 500 given to the Society.

Resolved,—That the Honorary Secretaries do communicate with the Hon. the Colonial Secretary on the subject.

7. Approved the draft of the reply submitted by the Sub-Committee appointed by the Council to report on the Hon. the Colonial Secretary's letter regarding the reprinting of Wijesinha's translation of the *Maháwansa*.

8. Resolved,—That Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy be appointed delegate to represent this Society at the Oriental Congress at Copenhagen.

9. Informed the Council that His Excellency the Governor had consented to preside at a General Meeting on May 25 to hear Dr. C. G. Seligmann on the *Veddás*.

10. Informed the Council that a sum of Rs. 180 per annum has been added to the salary of the Society clerk as agreed to by Circular No. 57 of February 10, 1908.

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## SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, May 25, 1908.*

Present :

His Excellency Sir Henry McCallum, G.C.M.G., Patron,  
in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G., Vice-Patron.

The Hon. Sir Joseph T. Hutchinson, Vice-Patron.

The Hon. Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., President.

A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., Vice-President.

P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Govern-  
ment Archivist.

Mr. T. P. Attygalle, J.P.

Rev. A. Stanley Bishop.

Mr. C. D. Carolis.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A.,  
C.C.S.

Mr. J. S. Collett.

The Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford,  
C.M.G.

Mr. P. de Abrew.

Mr. F. J. de Mel, M.A., LL.B.

Mr. F. J. de Saram, J.P.

Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.

Mr. E. Evans, B.Sc.

Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A.

Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A.,  
LL.M.Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Muda-  
liyar.

Mr. T. Harward.

Mr. F. A. Hayley, Advocate.

Dr. C. A. Hevavitarana, M.B.,  
C.M.

Mr. C. W. Horsfall.

Mr. R. John.

Mr. P. D. Khan.

Mr. M. A. C. Mohamad.

Mr. P. E. Morgappah.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, Advocate.

Dr. W. P. Rodrigo, M.R.C.S.

Mr. F. C. Roles.

Suriyagoda Sumangala Terun-  
nanse.

Mr. M. Supparamaniyan.

Mr. G. W. Sturgess.

Mr. H. Tarrant.

Mr. F. A. Tissaverasinghe,  
Proctor, S. C.The Hon. Mr. P. D. Warren,  
F.R.G.S.Mr. G. E. S. S. Weerakoon,  
Mudaliyar.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Thirty-six ladies and eighty-two gentlemen.

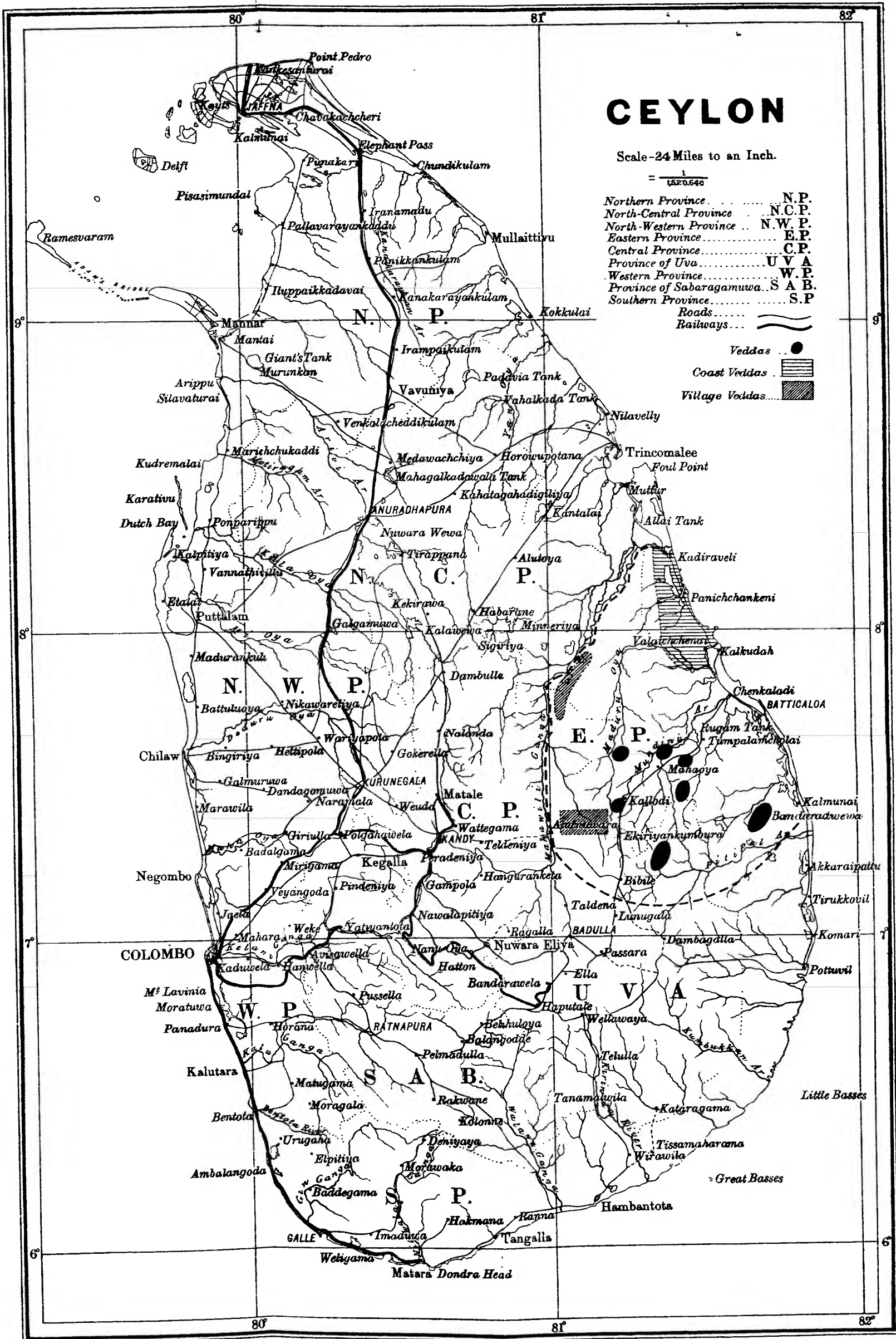
*Business.*

1. **HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR**, in introducing Dr. Seligmann, said: This being a Special General Meeting, the Minutes and other formal business will be considered at the next General Meeting.

It is quite unnecessary for me probably to introduce Dr. Seligmann to you, his name being well known to one and all. The question of the Veddás was brought up some little time ago, especially as connected with their sociology by my friend Mr. Ferguson, President of the Society. The Veddás are a fast vanishing element of Ceylon history. It was, therefore, considered that the sooner we could get some account of their sociology the better. Professor Haddon of Cambridge was consulted in the matter, and as he could not come himself, he strongly recommended us to engage Professor Seligmann.

I will now ask Dr. Seligmann to give us the lecture which he has prepared.

2. 'Dr. C. G. SELIGMANN then read the following Paper (with lantern illustrations), entitled "Notes on recent Work among the Veddás" :—





## NOTES ON RECENT WORK AMONG THE VEDDÁS.

By C. G. SELIGMANN, M.D.

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I MUST, in the first place, solicit your indulgence for the rough notes I venture to bring before you to-night, for my Paper—if it may be called by this name—has been put together in camp and during halts in resthouses, with scant reference to my own notes and none to the works of other authors. Hence, although I believe I have avoided sins of commission, nothing I may say must be taken to be a deliberate expression of opinion, the result of worked out material, but rather as unchecked impressions—the result of field work only, and liable to future revision.

I propose to-night to treat of the Veddás under three headings: Veddás, Village Veddás, and Coast Veddás; for although it may not be easy in every case to say into which group a given individual falls, and although the classification proposed rests on no natural or known physical basis, it seems that, at the present day, the Veddás fall into three groups characterized by different sociological features. The term “Rock” or “Jungle” Veddá will be avoided; it has simply been applied by some authors to the wilder specimens of that class which I propose to call Veddás without a qualifying adjective.

The map shows the distribution of the Veddás at the present day, and also attempts to show the distribution of the three classes. It will be seen that, besides the Veddás of Ūva and the Eastern Province, there are remnants of Veddás in the North-Central Province. But, before entering on a description of the distinguishing features of the different classes of Veddás, something must be said of the basis on which the social system of the Veddás rests. Even at the present day, every Veddá belongs to a *warge*, or clan (as I

believe the term may be translated), and among a large number of the Vēddā communities still existing clan exogamy is absolutely the rule, and where this exogamy does not exist the altered condition is sometimes associated with Sinhalese influence. Further, with exogamy is found descent in the maternal line, so that the fundamentals of the social system of the Vēddās may, perhaps, be summed up as a clan organization associated with female descent. There is no evidence, as far as I can determine, of any dual organization of the clans, but perhaps these had originally a territorial distribution. Leaving such debatable matters on one side, the Vēddā clans are :—

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| (1) <i>Morane warge.</i>               | (4) <i>Embila warge.</i> |
| (2) <i>Unapane warge.</i>              | (5) <i>Uru warge.</i>    |
| (3) <i>Nambadewa or Nabudan warge.</i> | (6) <i>Tala warge.</i>   |
- (7) A number of other so-called *warge* of minor strength and importance, which perhaps have little claim to this distinction, and may be local groups that have forgotten their descent.

Passing now to the three classes of Vēddās, it will be convenient to deal first and quite briefly with Coast and Village Vēddās. The Coast Vēddās live in scattered villages, for the most part north of Batticaloa. They have much Tamil blood in their veins, and though often taller than pure Vēddās, still retain an appearance which suggests their Vēddā origin. This is far more marked in the males than in the females. They have taken to fishing, and make and use a cast net. They also shoot fish, using the usual Vēddā bow, but the arrow has become a harpoon with a shaft as long as the bow and a detachable barbed head smaller, but otherwise resembling the harpoon used by the Coast Tamils. Among themselves these folk speak Sinhalese, which they regard as their old Vēddā tongue. The majority of those I came in contact with belonged to the *Uru warge*, and were not exogamous. They have adopted a number of features of Tamil worship, but retain ceremonial dances, which seem to be the remains of original Vēddā dances. In one temple there was a model of a

sailing ship, partly square-rigged, which on appropriate occasions was ceremonially hoisted to the top of a pole some thirty feet tall, and in this and another village *Kapalpe* or *Kabalbe*, i.e., "ship-spirit," was given as the name of the most powerful spirit they propitiate.

The Village Veddás form a class which it is most difficult to briefly, yet fairly, describe. The term must not be taken to apply to degenerate Veddás who have lost their jungle characteristics and independent habits under Sinhalese encroachment. Doubtless, many such folk do live as Sinhalese in *chena* settlements for a short time before their extinction in the surrounding mass of peasant Sinhalese. But this is not the sense in which the Sinhalese apply the term *Gam-Veddó* (Village Veddás), nor is it the sense in which I use the term. Knox speaks of "wild" and "tame" Veddás, and to come to more recent times, there is evidence that a hundred years ago there were organized communities of house-building Veddás, while certain Veddás received grants of land from the Sinhalese kings, and on these lived as definite village communities, until quite recent times, probably till within the last half century. The present community of Dambani, in the jungle between Kallodi and Alutnuwara, may serve as an example of a village Veddá community. Some twenty families living in tolerably built houses keep buffaloes and cultivate chenas, the latter being big enough to supply, not only their own wants, but to permit of a lively traffic with Sinhalese traders. These Dambani folk have been known to the Árachchi of Beligala as a flourishing community, in the same social condition, for the last thirty years, and he states that they were in this condition in his father's time. The Dambani folk are unfortunately "show" Veddás, that is to say, people who have been sent for so often by white visitors that they have learnt certain tricks, which they show off directly they see a white person, and so constantly demand presents that serious work with them is an impossibility. Nevertheless, a short visit was sufficient to show that here was a community which, though it had lost many Veddá beliefs, still retained others, and was sufficiently strong and independent for there to be no likelihood of its immediate fusion with the surrounding



population. Physically these folk, though somewhat darker and often of a stouter build than, *e.g.*, the Dani-gala Veddás, could not be mistaken for Sinhalese.

Having briefly discussed these two aberrant groups, it is possible to consider the first group composed of the minority of the still surviving members of the Veddá race. These form a number of small communities varying in purity of blood and the extent to which the habits and customs of their members have been modified by outside influence, but agreeing in this that all hold to a number of customs which have a common origin and which cannot be derived from Sinhalese or Tamil sources.

Although the large majority of Veddás make chenas, we were fortunate in finding near Nuwara-gala, in the Eastern Province, a community consisting of four families who had never done so, their members living by hunting and on honey, yams, and other jungle produce. These folk, in fact, still live in the condition in which the majority of Veddás must have lived till some sixty years ago, when Bailey first persuaded the Veddás of Nil-gala to make chenas. The Dani-gala Veddás, the last of the Nil-gala communities, now illustrate the opposite condition, for the present generation of these people—perhaps until one generation ago the purest blooded Veddás in the Island—now breed cattle and have extensive chenas, while they have forgotten most of their old beliefs, and wear Sinhalese garments whenever they are not on “show.” Through constant interviews with white people they have become accustomed to pose for their photographs and to perform snatches of dance, and exhibit a really comic disgust when asked to exert themselves in an (to them) unusual way. Thus, one man of about forty became quite angry when asked the names of a number of colours, and protested indignantly that no white man had ever asked him to do this thing before. But, of course, the greater number of Veddás are neither as uncontaminated as the Nuwara-gala families, nor as sophisticated as those of Dani-gala; but while frequenting their chenas for part of the year or even living on them altogether, still visit caves or wander about the jungle during the honey-gathering season. Just as each family—using the word in the ordinary limited English sense—keeps rigidly to its own house

on a chena, so caves, if small, are the property of a single family, or if large enough to hold several families, each family has a piece of cave floor on which to sleep, cook, squat, and keep its possessions, and each man and woman keeps as strictly to his or her portion of the cave as if it were fenced in. Besides hunting land and pools and stretches of river, in which any member of a community might hunt and fish, there were also areas of land within the communal land which, in a limited sense, were the property of individuals, and upon which no one would hunt without their owner's permission, and if game started on other land was killed on such private land a portion of the game would be handed over to the owner of the land. Such privately owned land would often be given as a marriage portion, but never until the matter had been discussed between the owner and the other men of the small community. There was also a similar limited right of private property in rocks and cliffs known to be the haunt of the rock-bee, though the practical effect of such private property, except perhaps from the point of view of game preservation, was nullified by the certainty that all game killed or honey gathered would, if in sufficient quantity, be divided among the members of the community.

On the psychical side, the life of this folk is unusually limited in every aspect except one, namely, their regard for the dead, and even this regard, which attains the intensity of a cult, has given rise to no decorative art; indeed a number of crude drawings, for the most part of animals and men, executed on the walls of certain caves, were the only examples of decorative art seen, and personal adornment is at the lowest ebb. But although this cult has produced no pictorial or plastic art, it has given rise to a series of dances, often pantomimic, and so, perhaps, in the nature of imitative magic, but whether pantomimic or not, accompanied, except in a few instances, by offerings of food to the spirits of the departed. To understand these and the ceremonies to be presently described, it is necessary to consider the Vēddá attitude towards death. Although there is no formulated idea of a death contagion, the rapidity with which all Vēddás leave the site of a death, and avoid it for years, shows that

some evil quality is associated with dissolution. According to most Vēddás, the spirit of every dead man, woman, or child becomes a "yaka" within a few days of death. Some Vēddás, however, say that when ordinary folk die they cease utterly, and a surviving part, which becomes a "yaka," exists only in the case of specially strong, energetic, or skilled men, who have shown their strength of character in this world or who have had the power of calling "yaku" during their lifetime. Since each Vēddá community consists of a small number of families, usually related by blood and marriage, the yaku of the recent dead—called collectively the *Ne Yaku*—are supposed to stand towards the surviving members of the group in the light of friends and relatives, who, if well treated, will continue their loving kindness to their survivors, and only if neglected will show their disgust and anger by withdrawing their assistance or even becoming actively hostile. Hence, it is generally considered necessary to present an offering to the newly dead, usually within a week or two of death. This offering must consist of cooked rice and coconut milk, the food that every Vēddá esteems above all other, but betel leaves and arecanuts are often added. In each community there is one man, called *kapurála* or *dugganawa*, who has the power and knowledge requisite to call the yaku, and this man calls upon the yaka of the recently dead man to come and take the offering. The yaka comes, and the *kapurála* becomes possessed by the yaka of the dead man, who speaks through the mouth of the *kapurála* in hoarse, guttural accents, stating that he approves the offering, that he will assist his kinsfolk in hunting, and often definitely stating the direction in which the next hunting party should go. One or more of the near relatives may also become possessed, but this is not necessary. Soon after the spirit leaves the *kapurála* the rice is eaten by the assembled folk, usually, but not, I believe, necessarily, on the spot where the offering was made.

The above account represents the simplest, and probably a degenerate form of death ceremony, but usually the matter is complicated by the invocation of certain other spirits besides the *Ne Yaku*. Many generations ago there lived a Vēddá called Kande, a celebrated hunter, who on his death

became Kande Yaka, and is constantly invoked to assist in hunting. The majority of Veddás believe that the *Ne Yaku* go to Kande, and become in some sense his attendants. With Kande is often associated his younger brother, Bilinde, now Bilinde Yaka. Now Kande Yaka and often Bilinde Yaka are generally invoked at the beginning of the *Ne Yaku* ceremony, and it was pointed out more than once that the *Ne Yaku* could not come to the offering unless accompanied by Kande Yaka, who was even spoken of as bringing the *Ne Yaku*. Some informants also stated that immediately after death the spirit of the deceased resorted to Kande Yaka and obtained his permission to accept offerings from his living relatives, and in return to assist or injure them according to their behaviour.

Thus, Kande Yaka becomes a lord of the dead, besides being of especial assistance in hunting.

The great majority of the Veddás certainly believe that Kande was a Veddá who lived the ordinary life of a Veddá on earth, and some add that he killed his younger brother Bilinde in a fit of temper. Kande Yaka especially helps in the tracking and killing of sambur and spotted deer; another yaka, Bam-bura Yaka, is thought of as helpful in killing pig, and this yaka especially assists folk to find yams, which form a large proportion of the food of the wilder Veddás. When a deer has been killed, the head is set aside, and with rice and coconut milk (when procurable) dedicated to Kande Yaka, after which it and the rice are eaten. This ceremony is called *Kirikoraha*, and the photographs illustrating it were taken near Bendiagolge caves in that part of the jungle known as Henebedda. There are other yaku who have similar departmental powers, and these are invoked on special occasions, *e.g.*, pregnancy, sickness, and before gathering honey.

Finally, a few words may be said about language. All Veddás speak Sinhalese or a dialect of Sinhalese, which, although at first difficult to understand, became intelligible to my interpreter in twenty-four hours. Often there is a predominance of "ch" sounds, which makes Veddá talk sound harsh. But many Veddás have also a small vocabulary of

words which, according to my interpreters, are not obviously Sinhalese or are Sinhalese periphrases. It may be interesting to give a few of the most widely spread names of animals, and to note that, amongst the wilder Veddás, they constitute a true hunting language:—

Elephant	= botakanda	Leopard	= kerikotia
Sambur	= kankuna	Bird	= chappi
Bear	= keria	Wandura	= kandanpanine
Pig	= dola	Rilawa	= rossi
Iguana	= mundi		

It should also be noted that among the wilder Veddás there are special words or periphrases used in addressing *yaku*; thus, rice (commonly *depotulam*) becomes *huduhamba*; coco-nut (commonly called by the Sinhalese word *pol*) becomes the “milk-fruit,” *kirigedia*.

In conclusion, I must refer gratefully to the liberal spirit of His Excellency and his Council which made this work possible, and to the constant assistance rendered me by Dr. Willey. Further, although I have received help from so many folk, ranging from Government officers to peasant Sinhalese, that it is impossible to mention all by name, I should especially like to thank Mr. H. White and Mr. H. R. Freeman, the Government Agents of Úva and the Eastern Provinces, respectively, not only for much kindly advice but for putting at my disposal such adequate interpreters as Mr. W. R. Bibile, Ratemahat-maya, and Mr. D. C. de Silva, Kachcheri Interpreter. To these, my assistants, my thanks are especially due, as they are to the Hon. Mr. John Ferguson, for constant advice, to Mr. Samuel Perera, for his assistance in locating a group of Veddás, for whom I had been searching for some weeks, and to Mr. C. Herft, District Engineer, Batticaloa, who twice supplied me with coolies when I was in serious difficulty for transport. Finally, I must thank the Surveyor-General and Assistant Surveyor-General for the loan of tents and much help. It is indeed owing to the kindness of one of the gentlemen of the Survey Department, Mr. W. C. S. Ingles, that I have been able to show you a few coloured photographs taken on the new Lumière plate. Mr. Ingles has taken an immense amount of trouble over these, and developed those shown to-night.

3. **HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR:** I would now invite discussion or any remarks upon the lecture, particularly with reference to the sociology of the Vēddās. Dr. Seligmann would regard it as a great favour, as he has stated, if anybody would give him information, especially from old Sinhalese literature.

Dr. A. WILLEY said that he was sure they had all listened attentively to Dr. Seligmann. It is not often that they were able to get a man out from England to undertake a concentrated piece of work of this kind; and anthropologists all over the world, and more particularly the British Empire, will be greatly indebted to the Government of Ceylon for providing the means to carry out this investigation. The presence of His Excellency here to-night shows that the Government of Ceylon recognizes that the money has been well spent; and this will be more apparent when Dr. Seligmann's final work is published. To-night he has only given a very interesting outline. In a year's time they might expect a book which would probably lay the Vēddās' ghost for ever.

Mr. P. ARUNACHALAM said that *Kande Yaká*, whom the lecturer had mentioned as the chief god of the Vēddās, was most probably the god Kandasámi of the Tamil Hindús, who is regarded as a hill god and the special protector of the aboriginal tribes. His principal shrine in Ceylon is among the hills of Kataragama, where he is worshipped with his consort Valli, daughter of an aboriginal hill chief, whom, according to tradition, he married in Ceylon. The name Valli is a common name among Vēddá women. Kandasámi's favourite weapon is the *vel* or lance, which is therefore used as the symbol of his worship, and is most probably the original of the "ceremonial arrow," which plays so large a part in Vēddá ceremonies. Another important deity worshipped by the Vēddās is *Bilinda Yaká*, brother of *Kande Yaká*. *Bilinda* means in Sinhalese "child." Kandasámi's brother Ganesa, who is an important deity in the Hindú temples, is commonly called *Pillayar*, or "the child." All this goes far to show the identity of *Kande Yaká* with Kandasámi, the Kataragam god. The Vēddās were in ancient times intimately connected with the Kataragama shrine, and as far back as 200 B.C. were appointed guardians of the shrine by King Dufugemunu. The present *Kapurálas* of the temple claim descent from the Vēddās.

Dr. J. C. WILLIS wished to know the origin of the Vēddās, and how they came to Ceylon. He stated that from the botanical point of view it was now fairly well recognized that at one time the continents of South America and Africa formed a single continent, which had a prolongation eastwards through Madagascar to Ceylon and South India, and so on to Northern India, as represented by the Himalayas, Assam, and Bengal. He desired to learn if Dr. Seligmann thought the Vēddās belonged to the northern continent or southern continent, and whether, for instance, he would connect them with the Malay Peninsula.

The Hon. Mr. J. FERGUSON said the only contribution he had to make to the discussion was by reading from a letter received by the mail before last from Mr. Henry Parker, formerly of the Irrigation Department, who was well known and esteemed as

an acute, keenly interested observer in all that concerned the antiquities of Ceylon. Mr. Parker, writing on April 30, says :—

“ I think I may remark that, notwithstanding the confident opinions expressed by continental investigators, the last word on the subject has not yet been said.

“ I feel doubts as to whether Professor Moszkowski has met with any genuine Forest Veddás,\* who, according to my information, are purely hunters, and neither build houses with mud walls, as did the people he saw, nor live in any other manner than by hunting and collecting honey. The houses and chenas which he describes are such as the Village Veddás make.

“ I also visited Nilgala, and in reply to careful inquiries made without an interpreter, I learnt that only one family of Forest Veddás, about five in number, pay occasional visits to the hills mentioned by the Professor. For this reason, as no hamlet of theirs was known in that part of the district, I failed to meet with any there.

“ So far as I am aware, the only part of the country where there is any probability of meeting the true Forest Veddá is the wild tract of forest on the western side of the Máduru-oya, although doubtless there are some in other districts.

“ I believe it is quite certain that some Village Veddás are prepared to pose as Forest Veddás, and have done so on the occasions when Veddás have been exhibited in Kandy and elsewhere. It is also certain that nearly every skull sent to Europe has been that of a Village Veddá or a ‘ Wanniya.’

“ For myself, I am far from saying that all such persons are not true Veddás. I consider, with the late Mr. Hugh Nevill, that it is not improbable that many of the wilder Village Veddás are of unmixed descent, or descent as pure as that of the Forest Veddás. The inhabitants of one isolated hamlet informed me that they visited and inter-married with no others but the residents in a similarly isolated hamlet nearly 10 miles away. Excepting one camp of similar people, with whom they held no communication, I believe that there was not another village within some 15 miles of their quarters.

“ The high rank of the Veddá chiefs in former times is a subject regarding which the Continental inquirers can, of course, gain no information; and regarding which, as they all appear to have formed decided opinions of the racial inferiority of the people, they would probably not look for any.

“ But I venture to think that it is beyond doubt. In addition to the perfectly trustworthy accounts of the *Maháwansa*, there is other manuscript evidence which cannot be set aside; while at Dambulla, among a series of short inscriptions of about the third or fourth century A.D., recording the cutting of a flight of rock-steps, the following occurs :—

“ *Sidha. Raja Pulida Abaya Nakare Sidahata kapa gala.*

“ ‘ Hail ! The stone cut by Siddhatta, King Abaya, the Pulinda, having caused it to be done.’

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\* See footnote, p. 83.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

"The Pulindas were the Veddás.

"As the result of a study of the subject for several years, my own opinion is that the ordinary Kandyan Sinhalese are practically Veddás, with a not too great intermixture of Gangetic and Dravidian blood, chiefly the latter.

"Those who doubt it should endeavour to explain (1) why many feminine names of Kandyans and Bintenna Veddás alike terminate in *atti* or *ati*; (2) why the north-west Kandyans and Veddás alike worship in the same manner the God of the Rock, the South Indian Hill God; and (3) why, when on a hunting expedition, it is etiquette to suffix the title 'Veddá' to each Kandyan's name in addressing him."

Mr. BRUCE FOOTE inquired regarding the nature of the paintings, and the colours used.

4. Dr. SELIGMANN, replying *en bloc* to the questions, said: If the botanists and zoologists had not "made" a supplementary continent between South India, Africa, and America, the anthropologists would have had to do it. It would be otherwise quite impossible to explain the relationship of the Veddás, Tamils, Sakeis, and even Australians. He thought there was very little doubt that the Veddás were related to the Sakeis, and probably related to some of the jungle tribes of India, and it was not at all unlikely that the three peoples mentioned were related to the Australians; but the problem was, "How did the Australians get there?" With reference to the pure Veddás, he met four families, and there were two more he did not meet. The speaker said he spent about three weeks looking for the families, and during that time was walking round the Veddás in spirals. The lecturer also referred to Mr. Parker's letter. In answer to Mr. Bruce Foote, Dr. Seligmann said the Veddás painted in gray, with ash, sometimes mixed with saliva. In the case of the painting of leopards, the black spots were made with charcoal.

5. HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR: Ladies and gentlemen, I express your feelings when I thank Dr. Seligmann very much, indeed, for the very interesting lecture he has delivered to us this evening, and for the valuable photographs which he has thrown upon the screen. The work Dr. Seligmann has been engaged in has been arduous, and the hardships attendant to it have been shared by his wife. The information he has given us to-night is valuable; but it may interest him perhaps to know that recently I had a conversation on this subject of the Veddás with Mr. Bibile, who attended him on the expedition. Mr. Bibile is the Ratémahatmaya of the Ūva District, and he assured me that according to his belief what was called in Dr. Seligmann's lecture *pure Veddás or Rock Veddás no longer exist—that they are wholly extinct, in fact.\**

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\* The Ratémahatmaya, if anybody, should know; and his view is shared by Mr. H. Parker, no mean authority, as well as by other Europeans long resident in Ceylon who have been not infrequently brought into contact with the Veddás, and are familiar with the country they inhabit. It may fairly, therefore, be open to doubt whether Drs. Moszkowski and Seligmann ever saw a really wild Veddá, if indeed any such still survive.—B., *Hon. Sec.*



Therefore, it is most important that we should have the accounts which we have had to-night from Dr. Seligmann of the interesting matter connected with their sociology, which will every day get more and more obliterated. And it shows what foresight and perspicuity Mr. Ferguson had when he invited Government to engage the services of an expert to go into the subject of the Vēddās before they had practically disappeared for ever.

6. The Hon. Mr. FERGUSON said he rose to discharge a pleasant duty devolving upon him—the vote of thanks which he had now the honour to propose to His Excellency the Governor for presiding over their Meeting. He must first of all refer to the fact that, save for the readiness of His Excellency and the Government to make the requisite grant (£500 in all), it would have been impossible to enter on, or carry out, Dr. Seligmann's investigation. He must deprecate the kind mention of his own name by the Governor ; for it was in reality the Council of the Society who, at the instance of Dr. Haddon of Cambridge, had approached the Government through him (their President). He felt sure that when Dr. Seligmann's full and illustrated report appeared—that which they had that evening seen only an outline or sketch—they and the scientific world would realize the great amount of valuable work Dr. and Mrs. Seligmann had done. Among the rest, they had on their phonograph got many illustrations of the songs and lullabies of Vēddā men and women, and some of these would be included in the report. The Members of the Asiatic Society—indeed, all present—were indebted in a special manner to the Governor for the great personal interest he had always manifested in their proceedings, and for so often coming to preside at their Meetings ; and he might safely now offer their congratulations that what was rightly regarded as the final scientific investigation of the sociology of the Ceylon Vēddās should have taken place during Sir Henry McCallum's term of Government. He moved a cordial vote of thanks to His Excellency.

7. Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM seconded.—Carried by acclamation.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, June 20, 1908.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Govern-  
ment Archivist.Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A.,  
C.C.S.Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate  
Mudaliyár.

Mr. C. Driberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.

Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A.,  
LL.M.Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Muda-  
liyár.The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeye-  
sekere.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on May 4, 1908.

2. Resolved,—That the following candidates be elected as Members of the Society :—

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| (1) R. C. Kailása Pillai, Mudaliyár,<br>Tamil Interpreter to His<br>Excellency the Governor and<br>Tamil Translator to Govern-<br>ment : recommended by | { (a) P. Arunáchalam.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph.    |
| (2) A. Lewis, Financial Assistant,<br>Public Works Department,<br>Ceylon : recommended by   | { (a) J. Ferguson.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph.       |
| (3) A. N. Galbraith, B.A., C.C.S. :<br>recommended by   | { (a) J. Harward.<br>(b) H. W. Codrington.    |
| (4) A. W. B. Redemann, Consul for<br>Belgium : recommended by   | { (a) F. Crosbie Roles.<br>(b) H. Tarrant.    |
| (5) A. E. Murrell : recommended by  | { (a) J. Ferguson.<br>(b) J. Mathieson.       |
| (6) Dr. H. F. Bawa, F.R.C.S. :<br>recommended by  | { (a) C. M. Fernando.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph.    |
| (7) G. W. Jayawardana, J.P., Re-<br>venue Officer and Additional<br>Police Magistrate, Topavewa :<br>recommended by                                     | { (a) G. A. Joseph.<br>(b) C. M. Fernando.    |
| (8) D. Obeyesekere, M.A., F.R.<br>C.I., Barrister-at-Law : recom-<br>mended by  | { (a) S. C. Obeyesekere.<br>(b) P. E. Pieris. |

- (9) R. H. Lock, M.A., Assistant  
 Director, Royal Botanic Gardens, Pérádeniya: recom-  
 mended by
- |                   |
|-------------------|
| (a) J. C. Willis. |
| (b) G. A. Joseph. |

3. Considered a letter from the Government Printer, with Mr. H. C. P. Bell's comments, regarding Mr. Donald Ferguson's translation of Barros and Do Couto's "History of Ceylon."

Resolved,—That one thousand copies of the translation be printed, and sold at Rs. 3.50 to non-Members and Rs. 2 to Members.

4. Laid on the table the Hon. the Colonial Secretary's reply to Honorary Secretary's letter No. 142 of May 5, 1908, and previous correspondence, regarding Wijesinha's translation of the *Mahāwansa*.

Resolved,—That the name of H. Sri Sumangala, High Priest, be added to the list of names in the advisory board already submitted to Government; that Messrs. P. Arunáchalam and Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, be appointed editors for Ceylon, and Professor T. W. Rhys Davids for Europe; that the Government be informed that the local editors do not expect any remuneration, but that it will have to be ascertained what Professor Rhys Davids expects to be paid.

Resolved further,—That, in the event of Mudaliyár Simon de Silva being appointed co-editor for Ceylon, Government be asked to relieve him of the less important work which falls to him in the Colonial Secretary's Office in his capacity as Chief Translator to Government.

5. Laid on the table correspondence with the Hon. the Colonial Secretary regarding Government aid to the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Resolved,—That the matter do stand over for future consideration.

6. Resolved,—That the vacancy on the Council caused by the death of Dr. W. H. de Silva be filled by the appointment of R. C. Kailása Pillai, Mudaliyár.

7. Laid on the table list of Members who are in arrears with subscriptions.

Resolved,—That the names be not now struck off, but considered at another Meeting, after giving due notice to the defaulters.

8. Considered date and business for next General Meeting.

Resolved,—That a Meeting be held on Saturday, July 11, 1908, and that Mr. P. E. Pieris' Paper on "Portuguese Ceylon at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century" be read.

Resolved further,—That two other Papers, viz., "Kandyan Music," by Mr. S. D. Mahawalatenna, and "Sumptuary Laws and Social Etiquette of the Kandyans," by Mr. T. B. Paranatella (if approved as suitable for reading at a Meeting by Mr. H. W. Codrington, to whom they were referred), be read.

## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, July 11, 1908.*

Present :

His Excellency Sir HENRY McCALLUM, G.C.M.G., Patron,  
in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President.

Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., Vice-President.

Mr. K. W. Atukorala.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A.,  
C.C.S.The Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford,  
C.M.G.

Mr. B. C. T. de Mello.

Mr. L. W. F. de Saram.

Mr. A. N. Galbraith, B.A.,  
C.C.S.Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Muda-  
liyár.Mr. I. Gunawardana, Muda-  
liyár.Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,  
Mudaliyár.

Mr. C. W. Horsfall.

The Hon. Mr. A. Kanagasabai.

Mr. A. Lewis.

Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.

Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed.

Mr. P. E. Morgappah.

Mr. A. E. Murrell.

Mr. C. Namasivayam, J.P.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. D. Obeyesekere, M.A.

Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, M.A.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. G. W. Suhren.

Ven Suriyagoda Sumangala.

Mr. F. A. Tiseveresinghe.

Mr. W. T. D. C. Wagiswara.

Mr. G. E. S. Weerakoon,  
Mudaliyár.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Visitors : Eight ladies and fifteen gentlemen.

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*Business.*1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meetings held  
on March 10, 1908, and May 25, 1908.2. Mr. J. Harward announced the election of the following  
members since the General Meeting held on March 10 last :—The Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford,  
C.M.G.

Mr. W. E. Wait, M.A., C.C.S.

Dr. L. A. Prins, L.R.C.P., &amp;c.

Mr. W. A. S. de Vos, Proctor,  
Supreme Court.Mr. J. A. Gunaratne, Muda-  
liyár.

Mr. C. W. Horsfall.

The Hon. Mr. T. B. L. Moone-  
malle.

Mr. William Vaughan, J.P.

Mr. James Mathieson.

Mr. C. H. Jolliffe.

Mr. R. C. Kailása Pillai,  
Mudaliyár.

Mr. A. Lewis.

Mr. A. N. Galbraith, B.A.,  
C.C.S.

Mr. A. W. B. Redemann.

Mr. A. E. Murrell.

Dr. H. F. Bawa, F.R.C.S.

Mr. G. W. Jayawardana, J.P.

Mr. D. Obeyesekere, M.A.

Mr. R. H. Lock, M.A.

3. HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I will now call upon Mr. P. E. Pieris to read his Paper “Portuguese Ceylon at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century.” It is unnecessary for me to speak at any length about Mr. Pieris. All of you know that this subject of the Portuguese in Ceylon has been studied by him for some considerable time, and that he is one of our best authorities on the subject.

4. Mr. P. E. Pieris said that the Paper was exactly what it purported to be—merely a sketch. It was a sketch of the period from 1604 to 1614, a period that had not been touched upon by any English writers. The four volumes of the *Documentos Remittidos* contained about a thousand letters in four volumes of two thousand pages, and about eighty of these referred to Ceylon, and these references were of considerable and minute interest to them in Ceylon. Three or four of these letters have been already translated and published by Mr. Donald Ferguson. His Excellency knew very well the conditions under which Public Servants had to work in Ceylon, and he had only his half-hours after dinner and on Sunday mornings to attend to that Paper. There might be mistakes—no doubt there were—but he had tried conscientiously to put before them matters of interest in which they were concerned.

Portugal itself was at that time in a peculiar condition; the great house of Aviz was extinct, and about the year 1580 Philip II. of Spain, the husband of Queen Mary of England, had been elected King of Portugal, and the letters with which they were dealing were written by his successor, Philip III. of Spain and II. of Portugal.

The Paper was then read by Mr. Pieris.

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## PORTUGUESE CEYLON AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: A SKETCH.

By P. E. PIERIS, M.A. (Cantab.), C.C.S.

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*—e procurar que se faça justiça e favor aos naturaes, porque com isso se fará mais a conquista que com as armas.*

King to Viceroy, January 12, 1607.

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### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THIS sketch contains a summary of the information regarding the condition of the Portuguese in Ceylon and of the districts under their influence during the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century. De Couto's Decades end with the year 1600, and so far as Ceylon is concerned Bocarro's *Decada* 13 commences from April, 1614, when Manuel Mascarenhas Homem was despatched as general. This article, it is hoped, will be of some use in filling up the gap, as the contents of the above two histories will very shortly be available to the public in Mr. Donald Ferguson's scholarly translation, and have been already summarized in the appendices to my translation of Ribeiro. It is based almost exclusively on the "Documentos Remettidos da India ou Lvros das Monções," issued in four volumes by the Academia Real Das Sciencias de Lisboa. These documents consist of a series of letters addressed by the king to the viceroy at Goa, accompanied by a few of the replies and some reports from other parties. The following documents have been utilized in the preparation of this Paper:—Vol. I.: Nos. 1, 2, 4, 18, 22, 26, 30, 37, 47, 51, 57, 58, 61, 77, 82, 89, 91, 105, 117, 132, 136, 139; Vol. II.: 195, 200, 219, 220, 225, 229, 237, 253, 272, 309, 320, 356, 367, 380, 397, 399, 401; Vol. III.: 415, 423, 437, 456, 507, 508, 509, 510, 514, 541, 542, 547, 553, 564, 565, 566, 567, 613, 648, 649, 650, 654, 758; Vol. IV.: 798, 809, 813, 818, 824, 827, 869, 899, 901, 916, 925, 972, 994.

Where any other authority has been relied on it will be referred to in a footnote.\*

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\*[It is to be regretted that the writer entirely ignores previous scholars (e.g., Mr. Donald Ferguson in the "Monthly Literary Register," vol. IV., 1896). Such a "summary" without distinct references (book, chapter, page) to other authorities must be greatly discounted in value.—B., *Ed. Sec.*]

## CHAPTER I.

THE battle of Danture in the year 1594, when Pedro Lopes de Sousa and the pick of his army were left dead on the stricken field, was a crushing blow to the prestige of the Portuguese in Ceylon. Don Hieronymo de Azavedo was hastily despatched from Goa to retrieve the position, but he was hurled back with the loss of three hundred Portuguese and a vast number of the Sinhalese allies by the brave Domingos Correa,\* who then led the armies of Wimala Dharma. The death of Dharmapála—"the most high Prince Dom João, by the grace of God King of Ceilam, Perea Pandar"—on May 28, 1597,† was followed by a convention at which delegates representing the subjects of the late king took the oath of allegiance to the absent king of Portugal as their deceased sovereign's heir by will. A vigorous and bloody series of campaigns followed, the Portuguese being greatly strengthened by the reinforcements which were poured in from every side; and in the last year of the sixteenth century so much progress had been made that the general was in a position to send a punitive expedition to bring the turbulent king of Jaffnapatam to his senses.‡ But the tide of success soon ebbed, and in 1603 Don Hieronymo had again to flee before the victorious arms of the Sinhalese king, his army a disorganized rabble and his reputation destroyed.§ This campaign, the most important during his eighteen years' administration in Ceylon, and named by the Portuguese historians the Great Retreat,|| was immediately followed by the revolt of the native troops, only the gallant chief of Mátara, the Sinhalese Christian who continued to serve the foreigner with the courage and devotion which he had always displayed in the service of his own king—Samarakon Rála, known among the Portuguese as Don Fernando Mudaliyár—remaining faithful to the Portuguese flag with a thousand of his lascorins. All the outlying forts were soon

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\* De Couto, Decade XI. ; Ribeiro (my translation). p. 73.

† De Couto, Decade XII. ; Ribeiro, p. 74.

‡ Ribeiro, p. 150.

§ *Indiæ Orientalis Navigationes duas*, &c. (Frankfort, 1606).

|| Bocarro, p. 45.

captured and their garrisons taken as prisoners to the mountains; and the condition of the Island as depicted in the letters despatched to Goa from Europe was of the gloomiest. Bitter and well-grounded complaints were heard on every side against the oppression and tyranny exercised over the natives by the Portuguese officials, from whom they had been led to expect purer justice than they had received at the hands of their own chiefs. The action of the captain of Mannár in imposing unusual taxes was creating dissatisfaction; the revenue derived from the pearl fishery was not properly accounted for; munitions of war were being systematically smuggled into the enemy's country, not only from the ports of Jaffnapatam, but even from the Portuguese settlements of Negapatam and St. Thomé. Moreover a new danger was threatening the Portuguese power, for seven of the Hollanders' ships had appeared off Batticaloa and captured four Portuguese vessels;\* the Sinhalese king had gone in person to meet the new comers,† and though disagreements arose which seemed likely to render the negotiations abortive, a reconciliation had been effected and the question of the capture of Galle seriously discussed.

But the work of conquest had already consumed so much blood and treasure that it was no longer possible to draw back. A strict inquiry was ordered into the conduct of the peccant officials and of the general himself; the despatch of ships from the suspected ports was to be closely supervised, and they must touch only at Portuguese ports; three boats were detailed off to blockade the coast from Mannár to Galle, so as effectively to prevent any intercourse with the Sinhalese from outside, and to intercept the supplies of salt, cloth, and opium which were sent into the country; and the fortifications of Colombo and Galle were to be immediately strengthened, for the possible capture of the latter port would prove a serious impediment to the commerce of the southern seas. There was one cause for encouragement: at the very time of the Hollanders' arrival Sinhalese ambassadors had been sent to Goa with an offer of peace, on condition of the prince who was

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\* Spilbergen arrived in Ceylon on May 28, 1602 (Ind. Or.).

† This refers to Seebalt de Weert's visit.



being educated at the College of the Kings at Goa being restored to the Sinhalese king ; this offer, however, was not accepted, and the desirability of sending back the youthful prince Don João,\* “ grandson of Rajú,” who was also in the same college, as a rival claimant to the Sinhalese throne, was suggested, but the proposal was not adopted.

The rest of Don Hieronymo's long administration in Ceylon was occupied in the tedious and uphill task of recovering the ground lost in 1603. A great opportunity occurred when, at the death of Wimala Dharma in 1604, civil war broke out among his subjects : the general was confident that with three hundred more Portuguese he could bring the war to a speedy termination, and urgent letters were despatched to the viceroy from Portugal to render him every assistance. The customs duties of Colombo, Galle, and the other ports, estimated to yield fifteen thousand cruzados ; the revenues from Mannár and the other factories ; and the twelve thousand cruzados of tribute paid by the Naiks of the neighbouring coast, were ordered to be placed at his disposal for the expenses of the war : for not only was the possession of a country of such vast resources and of such great importance to the Indian dominion and the pearl fishery at stake, but the souls of thirty thousand professing Christians would be in jeopardy should they fall into the hands of their infidel brethren or the heretical Hollanders. At the same time all Portuguese officials were strictly prohibited from engaging in mercantile pursuits, whether directly or indirectly, as these were found to seriously interfere with their legitimate duties ; while the bishop of

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\* This is apparently the brother of Dona Catherina, whom Nicapety Bañḍār subsequently personated (Ribeiro, pp. 156, 165) ; in 1606 the two princes “ Dom Filipe of Ceitavaca ” and “ Dom João of Candea ” applied to the king for permission to proceed to Portugal, where Don Filipe died in 1612. An inquiry was ordered as to the heirs he had left in the East, and “ Dona Maria Pereira, heiress of Rajú,” who had been married to Simão Pinhão and was a widow in 1614, was recognized as one. “ Dom Filipe ” is no doubt the prince Rāja Súra who, according to one version of the *Rājāvaliya*, escaped to Colombo when his brother Jaya Súra was put to death by Mannam Peruma Mukeveti ; he is described as the son of a Soli prince and the princess Menik Biso Bañḍāra of the Uḍapola family, daughter of Rāja Siḥa.

Cochin was invited to visit Ceylon so as to encourage the soldiers and to see that the natives were treated with justice and clemency.

But the Indian authorities were lukewarm; the troops despatched in six ships from Malabar by Martin Affonso de Mello mutinied, and the expedition had to be abandoned; and for many years nothing more appears to have been done than to organize two raids every year within the Sinhalese territory. They were not much more than predatory incursions, maintained with the reckless courage and ferocity which characterized the warfare of the Portuguese in Ceylon, emphasized by the compelling force of sheer want. Moreover, Don Hieronymo soon fell out with Samarakon Rála, who was sent in chains to Goa. The aggrieved nobleman petitioned the king for redress, and a secret inquiry was immediately ordered, and strict instructions given that he and his family should be treated with every consideration and all their wants amply provided for. The distinguished prisoner was assured of the king's full recognition of his great services, but it was not considered expedient to send him back to Ceylon so long as the general was in power. Samarakon was in a short time appointed captain of Goa, and in 1613, as the result of the inquiry which had been ordered, the king placed on record in eulogistic terms a further expression of his appreciation, and in view of his services and high birth granted him for life an annual allowance of three thousand cruzados out of the revenues of Ceylon, with the captaincy of Chaul; one-half of this allowance was assured to his widow and children, but all subject to the condition that he would not return to the Island.\* His brother, Don Diogo Mudaliyár, however, was kept a state prisoner in Portugal; in 1612 he applied for permission to return to his country to rescue the treasure which he had inherited from his ancestors and his deceased wife, and which he had left sunk in a river; he also promised to indicate the place where a large stock of artillery and copper had been buried by him, offering a share of them to the king. The application was sternly

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\* There is reason to believe that Samarakon died shortly after, in a sea fight in the southern seas.

refused, and the viceroy was instructed to have him summarily executed should he venture to set foot in India. A subsequent attempt to escape led to his confinement in 1614 at Alemtejo, his life being spared out of consideration for the great services of his brother.

No considerable success was announced till 1609, when Don Hieronymo captured Balane, where he erected a fort, and subsequently attacked and burnt the Sinhalese capital of Candia; about the same time he received a communication from the queen, who proposed to desert to the Portuguese with her son and treasure; shortly after peace was made with the king.

The king of Jaffnapatam, who was nominally a vassal of Portugal, had long been suspected of treasonable practices, and he was also oppressing his Christian subjects. Under the pretext of visiting a shrine on the opposite coast he had recently succeeded in smuggling across a considerable portion of his treasure, and was believed to be purchasing help for the Sinhalese from among the princes of the Choromandel coast. It was therefore decided to dethrone him, and not to appoint a new king over the country for the future. But the condition of affairs at the end of 1610 was in the highest degree unsatisfactory. A secret memorandum of the period by a Portuguese who had had fifteen years' experience of the country, and which was referred for a confidential report to the viceroy, the *Vedor da Fazenda* in Ceylon, and to Samarakon Mudaliyár, sets out the state of things in a very clear light. Seven thousand villages, great and small, were at the time within the Portuguese territory; these were looked after by fifty thousand mayorals or village headmen, each of whom paid a *pardão* a year, while the *marallas*\* and fines yielded close on six thousand *pardãos*. The yearly collection of cinnamon yielded two thousand *bahars*, out of which seven hundred were presented to the general, fidalgos, clergy, captains, &c., while the rest was sold on the king's account at an average price of six *pardãos* the *bahar*. The areca crop, though not properly attended to, yielded eight thousand *amanões*, valued at twenty thousand *pardãos*; there was a good collection of

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\* Ribeiro, p. 129.

pepper, and a considerable profit was obtained from the collection of precious stones, the work being confined to specially authorized persons. Twelve tusked elephants, worth fifty thousand *pardãos*, were captured each year, while the customs duties yielded a fair revenue.

The last twenty years of warfare—sixteen of them under Don Hieronymo and the rest under Pedro Homem Pereira, and after him Pedro Lopes de Sousa—had cost the Portuguese twelve thousand lives and half a million cruzados of treasure, but the end appeared as far off as ever. One of the chief reasons for this was the excessive harshness displayed towards the natives, as the officials who governed them had almost absolute power; they were in addition ground down by oppressive taxation and laws of terrible severity. The policy of destroying their temples before the people were pacified and rendered familiar with foreign rule was greatly to be deprecated. The Portuguese soldiers were few in number and the scanty forts insufficiently garrisoned, while the continuance of hostilities served the private interests of the commanders of the native troops, whose authority and opportunities for peculation would be terminated with the war. Natives who had no right to do so were permitted to assume the titles of king, prince, and *mudaliyár*, and thus obtained an undesirable influence over their countrymen, who were only too ready to rise in revolt at the bidding of every renegade. The success of any one officer in war only served to arouse intense jealousy among his fellows; that was what influenced the conduct of Pedro Lopes de Sousa towards Pedro Homem Pereira, and subsequently the latter would not assist the former, which led to his annihilation with seven hundred of the finest Portuguese troops. Recently the viceroys had shown themselves markedly indifferent to keeping the general properly supplied with men and money; and the condition of the soldiers, without pay, and with clothes which were hardly superior to raw hides, was pitiable in the extreme. In spite of the repeated and urgent instructions of the king, the fortifications of Colombo were entirely neglected: there were no bastions, and the few ramparts of *taipa* and palm trees were in such a ruinous condition that cattle could make their way over them. There

was no hospital worth speaking of, and the soldiers were dying of hunger and privation. The loyal Sinhalese had been ill requited by the loss of almost all their possessions, while the refugees who were compelled by necessity to join the Portuguese ranks were received with open arms: wealth and rank and lands were conferred on them, and they were placed in positions of command over the rest.\* “And the ultimate reason I assert,” concludes the writer, “is, that we Portuguese are evil Christians, with little fear of God.”

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the king should express his great dissatisfaction at the results of an undertaking which he had so much at heart; he bitterly complained that his army was reduced to a broken-down rabble of four hundred men, whose invasions of the enemy's country had degenerated into insignificant raids; his dominions were depopulated and the lands left uncultivated, so that the produce therefrom was insufficient for the maintenance of the war. And yet a more favourable opportunity for concluding the work of conquest could hardly be expected: peace had been made with the Hollanders, and the Sinhalese were reputed to be entirely disorganized, without a king and without leaders. Repeated orders were issued for repairing the fortifications of Galle, in view of possible hostilities in the near future with the Hollanders; and it was also suggested that a dockyard and arsenal should be constructed there for the convenience of ships sailing to the southern seas. Another scheme which the king was greatly interested in was the settlement in the districts of Chilaw and Negombo of a colony of the brave and loyal Christian fishermen from the coast of the fishery, removing them from the jurisdiction of the Naik of Madura; they were to be provided with allotments of land which they could cultivate when not engaged in their usual pursuits, and a special *ouvidor* was to be appointed to administer justice and to settle disputes among them. It was expected that such a colony would help in the regular exploitation of the pearl fishery, which had yielded no revenue for six years owing to the disturbances prevailing there, the chief being the quarrel between the Jesuits,

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\* Clearly a reference to Simão Correa.

who used to arrange for and supervise the fishery, and the bishop of Cochin ; a reconciliation between these was also earnestly recommended. It was, however, pointed out to the king that the same experiment had been attempted by the viceroy Don Constantino,\* and later by Ayres de Saldanha, and that they had both found it impossible to obtain the hearty co-operation of the Patangatins, who were the head-men of the people. To please the king they were, however, willing to send an experimental colony of a few thousand souls, but at the same time it was represented that Negombo was not a desirable centre if the colony was expected to be of assistance in the pearl fishery. No further steps appear to have been taken in the matter.

At the end of 1612 Don Hieronymo left for India as viceroy, his place being temporarily filled up by Don Francisco de Meneses Roxo. Nothing was attempted by this incompetent officer save a short incursion within the enemy's country in March of the following year ; his withdrawal was followed by the loss of the fort of Balane, which was attacked and destroyed by the Sinhalese in Holy Week. This was a source of the profoundest irritation to the king, aggravated by the subsequent negligence of the general ; for in August, shortly after the death of the queen of Candia, her daughter and her husband had advanced to within half a league of Balane in an attempt to escape to the Portuguese, when the absence of an army in the field enabled the Sinhalese lascorins to arrest her with her treasure and take her back to their king. The complaints against the general were so grave that in May, 1614, the new viceroy was obliged to send Manuel Mascarenhas Homem\* to relieve him of his charge, and at the same time instructions were received from the king to place him on his trial. He was accused of being more interested in trading with the enemy, bartering cloth and opium for their coconut and pepper, than in waging war against them. In the Four and Seven Kóralés the dissáva Luiz Pinto, a Portuguese, was doing the same in partnership with the general, and another Portuguese, Luiz Cabaral, in Sabaragamuwa and the Kuruwiti

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\* De Couto, Decade VII. ; Ribeiro, p. 34.

Kóralé. In the dissávoni of Mátara, the chief source of the supply of wax, and which contained the best and most loyal population in the Island, and had always been administered by the noblest born among the natives or by selected Portuguese, a low-born Moor, a native of the country, had been appointed dissáva as a convenient tool for the furtherance of his nefarious practices. The revenue of the district was misappropriated, the natives oppressed by harsh fines which went to swell the general's income, and such excesses committed under the pretext of trade that the scandalized natives were on the verge of rebellion. No proper control was exercised over the chief officials, and the captain-majors and dissávas had overstepped the limits of their almost absolute authority and were cruelly oppressing the inhabitants. Besides neglecting all military precautions, as exemplified in the case of Balane, he had acted in a most high-handed fashion in regard to the royal revenues, arrogating to himself various sources of income which by immemorial custom were an appanage of the king. He had misappropriated gems which had been collected on the king's account, and had even removed some of the royal elephants in defiance of the authority of the vedor. De Meneses however died at Arracan shortly after his recall, but legal action was ordered to be taken against his heirs for the recovery of the money which had been misappropriated by him from the public revenue.

Detailed instructions\* were given to Manuel Mascarenhas Homem by the viceroy regarding the administration of the country ; his headquarters were to be at Malvána, which was more central than Colombo, and he was to pay special attention to the administration of justice. To avoid the slow procedure of the Portuguese courts the viceroy himself had, when general, established a council at Malvána consisting of noble and experienced Sinhalese assisted by the mohottiaris of the king ; this body had authority to adjudicate on all minor matters on their own responsibility, only referring the weightier causes to the general. The oppression practised by the officials was to be sternly suppressed, but at

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\* Bocarro : Ribeiro, p. 151.

the same time the war was to be carried on without mercy, no male above fourteen years of age being spared. The native troops were to be organized in four bodies and placed under the command of experienced leaders like Simão Correa and Luiz Pinto; the muster-rolls were to be revised, and each lascorin paid a *larin* a month, and each árachchi two. Batticaloa and Trincomalee, which with Cottiar formed the three chief ports of the Sinhalese, were to be fortified against a possible seizure by the Hollanders, and the kingdom of Jaffnapatam reduced into the condition of a Portuguese province. The trade in cinnamon was to be treated as a monopoly, and each year a thousand *bahars* despatched to Goa for sale, the proceeds being remitted to Colombo to be kept in a separate chest there.

In January, 1615, the new general took the field, the native levies being commanded by the four dissávas, Simão Correa of the Seven Kóralés, Luiz Gomes Pinto of the Four Kóralés, Luiz Cabaral de Faria of Sabaragamuwa, and Domingos Carvalho Cam of Mátara. Crossing the Mahaweli-ganga at Gampola with great difficulty in consequence of the floods, the army pushed on to Maturata and occupied Badulla, burning all the villages on the road. A severe encounter followed with three thousand of the enemy, the day being secured by the gallantry of the Atapattu guard of the Seven Kóralés. The city was then set on fire, all the fruit trees in the neighbourhood destroyed, and the general returned to Malvána in March.

The following August the districts of Tumpane and Hárissattu were ravaged and all the inhabitants put to the sword; some loss was sustained by an ambush which had been prepared at Aluwa,\* but it was found possible to push on the invasion as far as Mátale, where a force of the enemy was routed. The next month Filippe de Oliveira, dissáva of the Seven Kóralés, again invaded the enemy's country, and returned with considerable booty by Christmas, 1615.

In March, 1616, Nuno Alvares Pereira,† who had been appointed in March, 1613, arrived as general; under the

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\* Haloluwa.

† Bocarro : Ribeiro, p. 152.



exceptional circumstances of the times he had been referred to the viceroy for his instructions, instead of receiving them directly from the king. He was invested with the same authority in military matters as his predecessors had enjoyed ; as regards the revenue, he was to be guided by the existing regulations, so far as they were not in conflict with those issued to the vedor ; and he was directed to see that justice was impartially and efficiently administered in accordance with the rules laid down for the guidance of judicial officers. A proposal was, however, on foot to create a council to supervise the affairs of Ceylon : when this assembled the chair was to be taken by the bishop of Cochin, if present, by virtue of his sacred office ; but in his absence the general was to preside in preference to the vedor.

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## CHAPTER II.

The fiscal affairs of Ceylon had long occupied the attention of the Portuguese king, and in January, 1607, Antão Vaz Ferreira was despatched as *Vedor da Fazenda* and armed with special powers ; orders were also sent that he should be provided with an experienced Portuguese officer from Goa as secretary ; but Paulo Carvalho, who was nominated for the office, had to be removed in a short time, as he could not work in harmony with the vedor. His first duty was the preparation of a *thombo* of the villages with details of the revenue due from each, distinguishing those which had been assigned to the service of the temples. All claimants were summoned to produce their muniments of title to be examined and registered ; but the initial difficulty was encountered that none of the official records were forthcoming. It was suspected that these were being suppressed by interested parties, but Don Hieronymo was able from his experience to explain that as a matter of fact all such documents had been destroyed or burnt in the course of the protracted war ; the work had therefore to be prepared with the assistance of the best evidence which could be obtained. Several villages were found to be held on ancient grants without payment of rent, and merely on condition of rendering some personal service ; others had been recently assigned to private parties on

condition of paying a rent which was to be subsequently fixed, and several were held by *mutiares* and *canacapules*\* without any payment at all. This difficulty was settled by fixing a temporary rent pending the completion of the *thombo*.

A scheme for the distribution of the villages when available was approved by the king; some were to be allowed to the captains in charge of stations occupied by Portuguese troops for the maintenance of the garrisons,† due consideration being had of the allowances and provisions granted to the latter; the chiefs of the native soldiers who did not have the same allowances were to be treated with greater liberality; other villages were assigned to the captain-major, while a few of the best, scattered throughout the country, were to be set apart for the special use of the king, so that the captain-general might have when required the means of provisioning the troops in any district. The villages of *Bolategão*‡ were reserved for the royal use, in view of the importance of the supplies of rice and areca available from them; the right of appointing the *vidâne* over them was vested in the viceroy himself, and failing him in the *vedor*. These villages had been assigned by Don Hieronymo to Don Manuel de Azavedo for his good services, but the cancellation of this grant was ordered in 1617. Villages were also to be granted to Portuguese engaged in the work of conquest and to native Christians who had displayed exceptional loyalty; the cultivation of the lands was to be left in the hands of the resident villagers; where they were not available, native Christians were to be given the preference, and failing these, Christian settlers were to be invited over from St. Thomé. All those to whom villages had been granted were to be compelled to reside within their holdings. The *gabada* villages§ were capable of yielding a considerable revenue, and it was no longer to the interest of the Crown that they should be utilized as they had been under the Sinhalese kings; some were to be rented out, others allotted to parties, and a few reserved for the conduct of the war.

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\* Mohottiares and kanakkapillais. † Ribeiro, p. 117. ‡ Bulatgama.  
§ *As aldeias da dispensa Real*: villages of the royal stores, or *gabadáwa*: hence the *dispense* villages of English times.

The king was in favour of compelling all those who had services to render in the making of guns, arms, &c., to take up their residence in Colombo and Galle, but on the recommendation of the viceroy, who pointed out that the holdings of these people were barely sufficient for the maintenance of their families while the men were engaged on their duties, the existing custom was allowed to remain unaltered; they were however prohibited from selling any surplus arms which they made to any but the Portuguese authorities.

The ancient royal claim to all the elephants in the country was asserted; the vidânes over the *aliyas* engaged in the hunt and over the *panneas* who supplied them with fodder, whose services were indispensable in war, were placed under the command of the general, who was instructed to lend them to the vedor when they were required by the latter for purposes of the hunt; but the right to appoint the vidâne over the hunters who noosed the animals was reserved to the vedor. All these vidânes were to be selected exclusively from the Sinhalese. The sale of the elephants was in future to continue according to the existing custom, the best purchaser being the Naik of Tanjore. Though the people employed in the hunt were service tenants, it was usual to supply them all with food and clothing while actually on duty. These last, who numbered about three thousand, had each to pay an annual sum, and their headmen had to pay *deccuns* in proportion to the privileges they enjoyed; all these were credited to the royal treasury. Out of the villages set aside from ancient times for the maintenance of this department sufficient were to be reserved for the support of the people engaged in the work, and all the ancient customs were to be continued as under the Sinhalese kings.

The Palleas\* and Châlias had scattered among the villages of private individuals, preparing cinnamon for them, when their duty was to serve the Crown and to pay a certain number of larins a year according to ancient custom. The

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\* This word also appears as *Pareas*, and is explained by the Portuguese editor as *Panneas*, which is improbable. I understand from A. de S. Râjapakse Mudaliyâr that the Pella Kareyas are the lowest subdivision of the Kurundukare class of the Salâgama caste.

owners of these villages were to be compelled to release them, and they were to return to the districts allotted to them from ancient times, and continue to render their ancient services. The monopoly of the cinnamon trade for three years had been sold to Don Hieronymo when general for twelve thousand *pardãos*; this proceeding was disapproved of by the king and its repetition forbidden. There was much correspondence regarding the trade in this article, culminating in the instructions given to Manuel Mascarenhas Homem as related above. All the gems collected on the king's account were ordered to be sent to Goa and Cochin for sale. Don Nuno Alvares Pereira had appointed Francisco Barbosa to be superintendent and *vidâne* over their collection, but in the subsequent year the gem-yielding district had risen in revolt, and it was not found possible to collect any on the king's account. An attempt was also made to develop the cultivation of pepper by ordering a moiety of all rents due to the Crown to be paid in that commodity. It was not considered desirable to introduce any innovation in the manner of collecting *areca*, but the *vedor* was specially recommended to attend to the supply of rice.

The Christians of the fishery coast, who were subject to the *ouvidor* of Mannár, were in 1613 permitted to select their own judges, the *ouvidor* being instructed to hold a yearly sessions so as to satisfy himself that justice was being properly administered.

All *mutiares*, *canacapules*, and heads of *kóralés* and villages were instructed to hold themselves subject to the orders of the *vedor* for the preparation of the *thombo*, except when, as was frequently the case, their services were required by the general for military and administrative purposes. The custom under the Sinhalese kings was that where a person died leaving no issue, all his property lapsed to the Crown, and one-third in case he left issue surviving him; this source of revenue was known as *maralla*. This custom was discontinued during the administration of Don Hieronymo, and the rules of succession which had been adopted in Goa in the case of gentiles were ordered to be followed in Ceylon, as they were found to be a great aid to conversion. The

appointment of a special officer to inspect the fortifications was authorized, and with a view to prevent the wanton destruction of valuable timber, and especially of jak,\* the construction of vessels exceeding two hundred *candies* burthen was prohibited, and the captains and vidánes were forbidden to engage in any such work while holding office ; at the same time a rule was passed that no forest timber was to be felled without a license from the general.

The hospital was supported by the *alfandega* revenue, which was found to be insufficient. Considerable suffering was entailed on the patients owing to over-crowding ; provision was accordingly ordered to be made for its maintenance from the general revenue till sufficient funds were available for its support from the temple villages ; at the same time the viceroy undertook to provide necessaries, such as medicines, wheat, mattresses, &c., from India.

It frequently happened that criminals to avoid arrest escaped into the country of the infidels, where they led depraved lives, to the great danger of their souls. To amend this scandal Galle was in 1610 declared a sanctuary,† where no offender could be arrested save for *lese majesté*, false coining, and the murder of a sheriff or judge ; Colombo, which had originally been so proclaimed in the time of Andre Furtado de Mendonca, now ceased to be such, but the refugees there were given a period within which to withdraw to Galle.

The system in vogue in regard to the appointment of vidánes did not meet with the approval of the king. These officers had a considerable share in the administration of justice ; in cases of breaches of the peace they were in the habit of imposing a fine varying according to the position of the offender and the gravity of the offence ; when any one committed suicide through inability to avenge an affront offered to him by another, the offending party was liable to a fine at the discretion of the *Mutiares* and in

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\* A matter which had given trouble since the earliest times ; *vide* Proclamation of March 13, 1543 ; Ribeiro, p. 349.

† I understand that the king's granary at Mádampé near Pelmadulla was such a sanctuary.

addition a levy was imposed upon the villages.\* Though this latter custom was viewed with disfavour, it was decided to leave the matter in the hands of the general. The vidânes had also the control of a large body of service tenants, where labour was diverted towards securing them private profits by the manufacture of arms to be sold outside the Island, to the considerable detriment of the king's revenue. It was not considered desirable to have natives in such offices, as they obtained thereby control over the men of war, and were thus enabled to revolt with facility. For instance, Simão Correa had nine of the best kóralés, and the only service he had to render was to supply seven hundred lascorins—a duty for which two kóralés would have amply sufficed. He had once, like his brother,† risen in revolt and joined the enemy. In March, 1611, some soldiers had deserted and escaped to Mannár, where they were followed by the vidâne and the *ouvidor* and shot down; it was asserted that this was done by Correa's command, owing to a grudge he had against one of the soldiers. The king was anxious that he should be sent to Goa with his family, as he was considered too dangerous a subject to be allowed to remain in Ceylon any longer; but this order was cancelled on Don Hieronymo's report of the importance of his services. The king further desired that the Sinhalese vidânes should be replaced by selected Portuguese appointed for shorter periods, on condition of their residing within their districts. Don Hieronymo, however, pointed out that the country was not ready for so great a change, as the natives would resent the deprivation of the honours and offices to which they had been accustomed; he promised however to introduce the system gradually in the more settled districts, while steps would be taken to reduce the number of lands they held, the surplus being distributed among the more deserving lascorins. The viceroy had

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\* "It was usual when one committed suicide, having previously denounced some person as the cause, for the Dissawe . . . . . to exact a fine from the party denounced, under the term of Pala."—*D'Oyly*.

"In a case of a suicide occurring in a village, . . . . . the Saké-Balanda inflicted a fine on the inhabitants."—*Davy's Ceylon*, p. 180.

† Domingos.

specially urged the desirability of releasing the fighting men from subjection to the lords of the villages, and he had recommended that they should be allotted an *amunam* of field and a garden each, and settled where possible in the villages of the Portuguese.

The revenues from the temple villages were estimated at the annual sum of seventy thousand cruzados—a sum amply sufficient for the maintenance of the entire Christian establishment in the Island. Several of these villages had been allotted to various bodies by the general without authority, and accordingly the cancellation of these grants was ordered, the income of all such villages being in future credited to the general revenue. A claim was advanced by the members of the order of St. Francisco to numerous villages which had been granted to them by Don João Pereapandar for the maintenance of their colleges and seminaries and the support of their catechumens; in spite of the unfavourable attitude of the vedor the king considered himself bound, as Don João's heir, to abide by the grant made by the latter. As regards the various religious orders in the country, a general rule was laid down that no allowance was to be made to them without the special sanction of the king, and those which were authorized were to be paid from the revenues of the temple villages as soon as they were available. In 1613 the Dominicans were granted for two years the same allowance as had been already given to the Augustinians; an appreciation was placed on record of the services rendered by the Franciscans, whose work had suffered considerably from the disasters of 1603, and they were to be remembered in the distribution of the temple villages. Sixteen villages in the Three Kóralés belonging to the *gabara*\* had been granted to the Society of Jesus without permission, and in 1615 this grant was ordered to be cancelled, and the society assigned the same allowance as the other orders. It was, however, found that it was already amply provided for in other ways: it held sixty-two villages of the pagoda of Municerão,† yielding over five hundred *pardãos*

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\* Gabadawa.

† Munnessaram.

of three *larins* each ; within the limits of the Colombo and other *kóralés* it held Crown villages yielding over four hundred *pardáos*, all of which was devoted to the society's college in Colombo ; these were held on a grant of Don Heironymo, which the society refused to produce to the vedor when called upon to do so. It was also allowed three hundred xeraphins for the churches at Kaymel, Chilaw, and Kalpitiya, this sum being paid quarterly at the factory at Colombo. Moreover the two priests stationed at Matiagama, which was the seat of the dissáva of the Seven *Kóralés*, held two royal villages yielding two hundred xeraphins.

Greater care was to be taken regarding the instruction of converts, as the laxity which had crept in was leading to evil results ; and the allowances of the various religious bodies were to be regularly paid, as their non-payment had led to a suspension of the preaching of the gospel among the infidels.

In view of the prejudice created by the presence of Moors in the country to the service of God and the king, orders were issued in 1615 to forbid their further immigration.\*

On October 3, 1584, Don João Pereapandar had passed an order exempting the *casados* of Colombo, and their sons being *casados*, from the payment of all the dues which they had customarily paid to the royal treasury. This exemption had been confirmed by the count-admiral when viceroy in 1597, but the privilege was withdrawn by the king in 1615, in view of the loss it involved on the treasury and the temptation it held out to prejury, the *casados*, however, being ordered to be remembered in the allotment of the villages.

By an order of Don Hieronymo of January 27, 1607, the ferries of Mutwal, at Golegavy. Matacore, Nacolegam, and Betal,† had been granted to the *camara* of Colombo. The revenue derived from them was under two hundred cruzados, and the grant was confirmed by the king in 1615 ; but when it was attempted to place the *camara* in possession,

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\* Their expulsion from Portuguese territory finally took place in 1626 under Don Constantine de Sá.

† Galegáwa (?), Mattakkuliya, Nakalagam, and Wattala.



a claim was advanced to one of them by a *casado*, and the matter was referred to court. Before a decision was arrived at, and in spite of the injunction of the vedor to the contrary, the *camara* obtained forcible possession of the ferry. Complaint was thereupon made to the king, but the *camara* finally gave up its pretensions and the matter was amicably settled.

The *camara* also claimed under a grant of the same king Don João fifty *bahars* of cinnamon a year, and it was ordered to produce the documents on which the claim was based; at the same time it showed itself most obstructive in regard to the registering of the lands it claimed in the *thombo*, refusing to produce any title deeds, in spite of repeated summons, without a special order of the king. Much correspondence took place on the subject, and in 1617 peremptory orders had to be sent to compel it into a more conciliatory attitude. It also displayed considerable unscrupulousness in claiming the lands of private individuals, and appeared to regard all waste lands within the city as its property. But it was not without good grounds for complaint: the general and captains of the city interfered with its legitimate functions and its attempts to improve the condition of the city, with the object of gain to themselves, thus inviting the severe reprimand they received from the king in 1616. For years it urged in vain the immediate importance of repairing the fortifications of Colombo; nothing was done, though De Meneses had begun a rampart on the sea side to protect a third of the city, the task being carried out by the service tenants without any expense to the king.

In 1616 permission was granted to Antão Vaz Fereira, the vedor, whose health had given way under the strain of continuous work, to return home for a holiday. He had laboured long and honourably at his difficult post, in spite of the obstacles thrown in his way by the highest officers of the king; indeed, Don Hieronymo himself as viceroy had to be reminded that the king expected him to support his faithful vedor with all loyalty, and to point out to the general that the vedor took his orders from the viceroy direct. He had frequently to complain of the delay in the payment of his

salary, in spite of the emphatic orders of the king on the subject; at the time he quitted office a sum of fourteen thousand xeraphins was still due to him. Hardly had he left when an urgent request was sent to him by the king to consent to remain in office for a year longer; but he was too ill to return to the scene of his arduous labours, and with the advice of his council the new viceroy, the Conde de Redondo, who had succeeded Don Hieronymo, appointed Lançarote de Seixas in his place. The new viceroy was specially directed to carry into effect the orders which had been so repeatedly given regarding the fortification of Batticaloa and Trincomalee so as to forestall the Hollanders, the importance of the former arising from the wealth of the surrounding country, as its harbour was of little value, whilst Trincomalee was capacious enough for ships of any draught; while the exclusion of the Moors from Ceylon had now become an urgent question, as there was no doubt that their presence tended considerably to hamper the work of conquest. And once more the king repeated the instructions issued in 1605:—

“Ceilão is the most important conquest to be achieved in India; when with the help of God you arrive at Goa you are strictly enjoined to exert yourself to reduce the whole of it into submission to me; many years have now elapsed since the task was first taken in hand, and it is well known to you how vast an expenditure my treasury has incurred on this account.”

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#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

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The courtesy of the Very Rev. Father J. Cooreman, S.J., vicar-general of Galle, has placed at my disposal the following information regarding the work of the members of the Society of Jesus in Ceylon in 1644, and I have considered it desirable to append it as a supplementary note to this Paper.

Ceylon was originally attached to the society's province of Goa, but in 1601 the new southern province of Malabar was created, with its headquarters at Cochin. Out of the four Portuguese dissávonies which were administered from Colombo.

Mátara was in charge of the Franciscans, who had been the first to arrive in the Island: the Jesuits, who had come next, were entrusted with the Seven Kóralés, the Augustinians with the Four Kóralés, and the latest arrivals, the Dominicans, with Sabaragamuwa. This was in accordance with the king's letter to the viceroy dated November 28, 1609.

A report made in the year 1644 by the Father Provincial to the superior-general of the society supplies the following details:—

In Ceylon there were two colleges, at Colombo and Jaffnapatam respectively. The former had the supervision of the following residences:—

Moroto (Moratuwa): patron, St. Michael.

Vergampati (Weligampitiya, in Alutkuru Kóralé): patron, St. Francis Xavier.

Urgampala (Uḷugampola, in the same kóralé): patron, Our Lady.

Matigama, the capital of the Seven Kóralés (Matugama, in Katugampola Hatpattu): patron, the Assumption of Our Lady; attached to this were two churches.

Caymel (Kammala, Pitigal Kóralé): patron, the Holy Magi; with the church of Tiavila (Etiawala, in the same kóralé: patron, Our Lady) attached.

Mádampe: patron, the Assumption of Our Lady; annexed to it were the churches of Máravila: patron, St. Francis Xavier; and of Cataneria (Katuneriya, in Pitigal Kóralé): patron, St. Ambrose.

Chilao (Chilaw): patron, St. Peter; with the church of Anavilundana attached: patron, Our Lady.

Muniçeram (Munnessaram): patron, St. John the Baptist; attached to it were the churches of Coculuve (Kokkuluwa), Valacheno (Walahena), Chetur, all in Pitigal Kóralé.

In the island of Calpeti (Kalpitiya) were two residences, one being Arezari\* (patron, the Assumption of Our Lady), having attached to it the church of Tataya: patrons, St. Peter and St. Paul; I cannot identify either of these places. The second, two Portuguese leagues to the south of Tataya, was Etaly (Etalai): patron, St. Francis Xavier. Attached to this were the churches of Nolequilim (Nuraicholai?): patron, Holy Cross; Navelcaru (Nawatakádu): patron, Assumption of Our Lady; and Maripo, four leagues from the above: patron, Holy Cross. There were also Christians at Telle (Teli), Palicure (Palaicholai?), and Puldevael (Puludivayal); there was also on the mainland, opposite Kalpitiya, the church of the Presentation. The writer makes the same complaint as is heard to-day in the district of the dangers arising from "the many elephants, tigers, and bears, and," he adds, "the hostile Cingalese who roam through these woods."

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\* In one version of the *Rájávaliya* it is stated that the port from which Vidiye Baṇḍára fled to Jaffnapatam from Puttalam in 1555 was Arasu-eriya Toṭa.

In all there were under the supervision of the Colombo college 11,149 Christians, as well as 1,420 children who were being catechised.

Under the college of Jaffnapatam were the following residences :—

Cutandaculam : patron, St. Michael.

Palle (Pallai) : patron, Crucifix.

Tambamma : patron, Nativity of Our Lady.

Mugamalle (Mohamalai) : patron, All Saints

Achivelli (Achuveli) : patron, Holy Ghost.

Mailatti (Mayliddi) : patron, Our Lady of Angels.

Telipulle (Telleppolai) : patrons, St. Peter and St. Paul.

Malagam (Mallakam) : patron, St. Ignatius.

Panditiripu (Pandaiteruppu) : patron, Our Lady of Remedies.

Changane (Changanai) : patron, the Holy Trinity.

Vatucote (Vaddukkodlai) : patron, the Assumption of Our Lady.

Cardiva : patron, Our Lady of Remedies.

(Apparently this last island was gifted to the society by Don Hieronymo de Azavedo : king's letter to viceroy, March 28, 1608.)

In all there were 32,287 Christians under this college ; there were besides 1,000 Christians in the Vanni where there was no church, and where for five years it had no longer been possible for the fathers to go and preach.

In the island of Maññār were five residences, with a superior depending immediately on the father provincial. He was also the *Father of the Christians*, whose duty it was to take charge of the catechumens, and to look after the interests of the Christians before the ecclesiastical and civil tribunals. Of the residences the first was that of the *Carcas*, the fishermen who were engaged in the pearl fishery, and had for its patron St. Thomas : the next was called after its patron, San Pedro. The residence of Carcel was dedicated to Our Lady of Good Success, and had attached to it the church of Talaimaññār, patron St. Lawrence. The last, Tatavali, patron St. Andrew, represented the first converts under St. Francis Xavier, and from among them came the six hundred martyrs. The total number of Christians in this island was 5,450.

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## APPENDIX.

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### MR. P. E. PIERIS'S PAPER ON PORTUGUESE CEYLON.

5th August.

What Mr. Pieris has actually ignored are my translations, in vol. IV. of the "Monthly Literary Register," of two important documents from the very volumes of the *Livros dos Monções* utilized by him for his Paper. One of these documents he summarizes fully, with no hint that a full translation had appeared

fourteen years ago; the other he does not even mention, because, I presume, he was unable to understand the language (Spanish) in which it was written. In my footnotes to these two Papers I gave much of the information (with a good deal besides) that Mr. Pieris now repeats.

Mr. Pieris also ignores my translation (in the same volume of the "M.L.R.") of the description of Ceylon in 1613 by Father Manuel Barrados.

Therefore for Mr. Pieris to say that the period from 1604 to 1614 "had not been touched upon by any English writers to date" was not only incorrect but unfair.

As regards the Paper itself, I believe it gives an accurate summary of the contents of the royal letters referred to; though it suffers from inadequate annotation. I notice a number of misspellings of names; but this is doubtless due to the fact that the proof is an uncorrected one.

In the discussion on the Paper I see that Mr. Pieris is stated to have said that the Sinhalese "had their king married to a Portuguese wife, Dona Catharina." I can only suppose Mr. Pieris to have been incorrectly reported, for Dona Catharina had not a drop of Portuguese blood in her veins.

That the Portuguese language was ever "fashionable" among the Sinhalese I very much doubt. The mixtities to whom Mr. Pieris refers doubtless originated the jargon or *lingua franca* which still survives under the name of Indo-Portuguese, and which would be unintelligible to a native of Portugal.

DONALD FERGUSON.

The Paper was accompanied by a running commentary explanatory of the various references. Mr. Pieris also produced in illustration three low-country copper *sannas* of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, some Portuguese coins, and a gold medal conferred by Governor North on Don Philip Samarakon in 1804.

After concluding the Paper, he continued: "When one realizes the tactics adopted by the Portuguese in their wars with us, and think of the decades those merciless wars lasted, Your Excellency will forgive us if we may be still proud of being Sinhalese."

5. HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR: I will now invite remarks upon this eloquent Paper, which has been delivered in what I might call a pathetic manner. It is one of the most interesting that I have heard in the Island, and a Paper which I know those present here equally appreciate.

6. The Rev. SURIYAGODA SUMANGALA THERO spoke of the excessive harshness of the Portuguese, who followed the same evil methods as Mahmud, known in Indian history as the "image breaker," employed in destroying temples, plundering their immense wealth, burning villages, and oppressing the inhabitants. The temple lands were taken for the Crown, the income of which was partly spent for the promotion of Christian faith

in maritime districts. The Sinhalese Buddhists were looked upon as disloyal subjects, and they were therefore not given any employment or rank under the Government, while the native Christians were treated with special partiality and favour. This act of injustice not only induced the Sinhalese Buddhists to embrace Christianity, but also multiplied in great measure the number of nominal Christians with selfish motives.

7. The Hon. Mr. A. KANAGASABAI, speaking of the title "Dom" conferred in the times of the Portuguese Government in the northern part of Ceylon, said that he could not at the present time say that the persons to whom it was granted were all real noblemen of note, or whether some were not made noblemen by the Portuguese themselves by the title being given to them. He might say that it was not noblemen only who got the title, but others who were raised to the rank of noblemen on account of services rendered by them to the Portuguese Government. That was a point which would require further study before they could endorse the opinion of Mr. Pieris. The destruction of temples during the time of the Portuguese was great. One of the oldest Hindú temples in Ceylon in the north was destroyed by the Portuguese, who razed the building to the ground. The temple was commemorated in Hindú lyrics about 1,500 years ago. The speaker instanced the destruction of other temples in the north, at Nellur, at Keeri-malai, &c., all of which had now been restored. Happily the Portuguese Government was short-lived, and the prohibition of religious services and persecution referred to in the Paper had now ceased.

8. Mr. C. W. HORSFALL said he need not say how eager they had all been to listen to Mr. Pieris's Paper, but there was one point he also would like to refer to, and that was the reference to the use of the word "Don." He thought that the word "Don," as they knew it now and often saw it affixed to designations of people in Ceylon, was the equivalent of the Portuguese term "Dom," and he was under the impression that the term, at all events nowadays, was simply the equivalent of the term "Mr." Of course, he would not question the accuracy of Mr. Pieris's statement in regard to its application to royal personages in the time referred to, but he would ask Mr. Pieris if he meant that it was exclusively devoted to those of high rank. The present use of the term must have altered. He instanced the use of the term "Monsieur" by the French in its former application only to brothers of the royal family. Did Mr. Pieris make any distinction between the term "Don" as used now and the term as used then?

Mr. P. E. MORGAPPA wished to know the reason why the Portuguese language and religion did not cease to exist, while the Dutch language had ceased to exist long ago. The Portuguese had many songs, and their music still existed. They heard it at festivities. As regarded their religion, the Portuguese were devoted to it. The Goanese priests in Ceylon had so fostered

their belief that they had kept up their religion even up to date. As regards the Dutch, they never heard of Dutch songs now; and as regarded their religion, the last minister was his namesake, David Morgappa. After him they had ministers appointed, but not in regular succession.

10. Mudaliyár Mr. G. WEERAKOON said that the Portuguese occupation had served a useful purpose, and paved the way for the civilization introduced by the Dutch and the English.

11. Mudaliyár Mr. W. F. GUNAWARDHANA stated that he had observed one important statement for which authority was not quoted. Mr. Pieris had identified the illustrious Mudaliyár Don Fernando with another illustrious man, Samarakoon Râla. He should give his authority for this identification.

Further, in the course of his remarks Mr. Pieris had raised the question whether there was sanctuary under the Sinhalese kings. There clearly was; for when Keppitipola and Madugalla Dissâve were captured after the rebellion of 1818, the latter sought sanctuary at the shrine of the Tooth, from where he was, however, removed by the guard who were escorting him.

Mr. Pieris had said that there was a cruel custom among Sinhalese kings known as *marâlaya*, by which the king took over the property of every man who died. The speaker considered such a custom impossible. For, the consequence would have been the transfer of all property in the kingdom to the Crown. As the speaker understood it, *marâlaya* was the same as the *fine* which was customary in England in feudal times, and in Ceylon at the present day, in the shape of the rate on probates and letters of administration.

Mr. Pieris's view that the title "Dom" or "Don" was bestowed by the Portuguese only on the nobility was not supported by facts. There were times when the Portuguese coffers ran low, and one of the means then adopted by the authorities for raising money was to bestow the coveted title on such of the native gentry as were willing to pay for the honour. The speaker believed that the largest sum by this means was raised in the kingdom of Jaffnapatam.

12. Mr. P. E. Pieris, in reply, said that as regards the title "Dom" he was bound to confess that he was not thinking about Jaffna. In the case of Jaffna the Portuguese had not much to do with it; he could not give the date straight off, but certainly they attempted to take the place in 1560, and were totally repulsed. It was about thirty years later that they established their supremacy, though it is curious to find the term "Dom" used by all the Mudaliyárs who signed the *Tésawalamai*.

So far as the official designation of "Dom" was concerned, it was given only to noblemen and Sinhalese of the highest rank; that could be easily ascertained by checking the names given in the Portuguese records of those engaged in the fights. If it was a "Dom," it was a nobleman. Numerous Aráchchies, for instance, are mentioned, but none of them were "Doms." He

never came across any Portuguese document which referred to the sale of titles. But here they had it from authentic documents that the people were assuming the title "Dom" when they were not entitled to it. It was the same with the terms "Appu" and "Appuhamy," used in the present day by people who were not entitled to use them. As for Samarakon, the *Documentos Remittidos* state that at the fort of Mátara the commander was known among the Portuguese as Dom Fernando, and among the natives as Samarakon. The *Rájávaliya* also makes reference to him.

As to why the Portuguese language has survived so long in Ceylon, that was to a very large extent due to the early policy of the Portuguese. When they came out they meant to colonize, to settle down, and found families. They had the Portuguese marrying Sinhalese wives, and even princely and noble Sinhalese, like the "Prince of Ceylon" and Dom Constantinu Mudaliyár, had Portuguese wives. Intermarriage was much more frequent among the lower classes, and Portuguese became the fashionable language, even Rája Sinha II. employing it in his official correspondence. With the Dutch it was different: intermarriage was no part of their policy, and their language was never spoken in Sinhalese homes. And when with the loss of their power Dutch ceased to be the official language, their slaves remained, and with them Portuguese language was employed, till it became established as the household talk of the Dutch.

With regard to *Marallas* as he understood it, it was only in case of a man dying without male issue that all his property escheated to the Crown.

13. HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR: Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my pleasing duty to ask you all to give a hearty vote of thanks to the learned lecturer for the very interesting Paper read to us this evening. The Paper, as several gentlemen have remarked to-night, shows the deepest research, and it will be a most valuable addition to the records of the Asiatic Society. The evening is getting late, and I will not touch upon the many points he referred to, even if I were in a position to do so. But I wish to point out that it is very interesting to me as a Scotsman to learn that the Sinhalese, equally with the Scots, have never been conquered. No doubt the Portuguese have been in the same position. The second point of interest to me, and of interest to my friend sitting on my right (the Hon. Mr. John Ferguson), is that the Sinhalese were able to offer a long resistance to the Portuguese owing to their obtaining the opium they got, referred to in the Paper read. Three hundred years ago some individual made a great point of this trade, but difficulties were put in the way, probably, as I have found in Sumatra, where arms and ammunition were being introduced for the benefit of these people to enable a war to be prolonged, just as opium was introduced to keep the Sinhalese fighting.

Mr. Pieris is a gentleman who has taken the greatest interest in this matter of the Portuguese in Ceylon, and I have enlisted his sympathies for a small project I am starting, that of obtaining



and preserving portraits of all the old Governors of Ceylon, Portuguese, Dutch, and English. There is no such record in the Colony at the present moment. It will require a great deal of work. As regards the Portuguese Governors, the work cannot be entrusted to better hands than that of Mr. P. Pieris. I have to thank him once more for the very valuable Paper read this evening.

14. The Hon. Mr. A. KANAGASABAI proposed a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor for having kindly consented to come there that evening and occupy the Chair. Mr. Pieris had remarked upon his having had to sentence to jail, some time ago, a man bearing the name of one of those Portuguese grandees. His Excellency, as they all knew, was interested not only in that Society, but also in the maintenance of the members of great families in Ceylon, and with that object in view had decided to establish agricultural and industrial schools. He hoped that that would be the means of saving those great descendants from wreck and ruin and incarceration.

15. Dr. A. WILLEY seconded the vote of thanks, and this brought the proceedings to a close.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum. September 19. 1908.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Govern- ment Archivist.	Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Muda- liyár.
Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S.	Mr. R. C. Kailása Pillai, Muda- liyár.
Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. E. R. Goonaratna, J.P., Gate Mudaliyár.	

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

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## *Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on June 20, 1908.

2. Laid on the table the following list of Members elected by Circular :—

(1) Edward Carlyle Anderson : { (a) F. Lewis.  
recommended by { (b) G. A. Joseph.

- (2) John Lewis Tancock : recom-  
mended by { (a) C. M. Fernando.  
(b) G. A. Joseph.
- (3) Godfrey Edward Madawela,  
Proctor : recommended by { (a) F. H. Modder.  
(b) T. B. L. Moone-  
malle.
- (4) James Conroy, B.A., C.C.S. : { (a) J. Harward.  
recommended by (b) P. E. Pieris.
- (5) Thomas Howard Chapman,  
A.M.I.C.E., Provincial Engi-  
neer, P. W. D. : recommended  
by { (a) A. N. Galbraith.  
(b) H. W. Codrington.
- (6) Dr. William C. Pieris, M.B.,  
C.M. : recommended by { (a) G. A. Joseph.  
(b) P. E. Pieris.
- (7) Charles Rogers Arasaratnam,  
of Travancore, Trivandrum :  
recommended by { (a) A. G. Tambynaya-  
gam.  
(b) T. P. Masilamani-  
pillai.
- (8) Eugene W. Jayawardana, Bar-  
rister-at-Law, Inner Temple :  
recommended by { (a) G. A. Joseph.  
(b) P. E. Pieris.
- (9) Dr. Emmanuel Roberts Ratna-  
weera, F.F.P.S., M.R.C.S. : { (a) C. M. Fernando.  
recommended by (b) G. A. Joseph.
- (10) Theodore Godfred<sup>3</sup> Wijesinghe  
Jayawardana, District Engi-  
neer, P. W. D. : recommended  
by { (a) C. M. Fernando.  
(b) G. A. Joseph.
- (11) Baxandall Constantine, B.A.,  
C.C.S. : recommended by { (a) R. H. Ferguson.  
(b) J. Harward.
- (12) Rev. Walter J. Noble : recom-  
mended by { (a) R. H. Ferguson.  
(b) J. Harward.
- (13) Forester Augustus Obeye-  
sekere, M.A., Barrister-at-  
Law, Inner Temple : recom-  
mended by { (a) Hon. Mr. S. C.  
Obeyesekere.  
(b) G. A. Joseph.

3. Resolved that the following Member be elected:—

- Assena Marikar Hamid : re-  
commended by { (a) M. A. C. Mohamed.  
(b) G. A. Joseph.

4. Laid on the table a letter from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, dated July 4, 1908, regarding the reprinting of L. W. Wijesinha Mudaliyár's English translation of the *Maháwansa*.

Resolved,—That the Honorary Secretary do write to Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy inquiring when Professor Geiger's translation of the Cambodian manuscript of the *Maháwansa* is likely to be ready for printing.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "*Jnána Vasishtam*, or the Dialogues of Vasishta on Wisdom," by Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mudaliyárs R. C. Kailása Pillai and E. R. Goonaratna for their opinions.

6. Laid on the table Mr. H. W. Codrington's Paper entitled "Notes on the Smith Caste," with the opinions of the Members of the Council.

Resolved,—That the Paper be published in the Journal without being read, and that Mudaliyár Simon de Silva be asked to kindly annotate it.

7. Laid on the table a letter from Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy regarding his Paper entitled "Greek influence on Indian Art."

Resolved,—That the Paper be not printed in the Journal or read at a Meeting, as Dr. Coomáraswámy has already published it elsewhere.

8. Laid on the table Circular No. 375 of August 29, 1907, containing the opinions of the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis and Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and R. G. Anthonisz on the Paper entitled "The Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731-1732," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication in the Journal.

9. Laid on the table Circular No. 41 of February 1, 1908, containing the opinions of the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz on the following Papers by Mr. A. E. Buultjens, B.A., Advocate:—

- (1) Translation of a Dutch manuscript entitled "The Execution of Petrus Vuyst, Governor of Ceylon, 1726-1729."
- (2) Translation of a Dutch manuscript entitled "The Dutch East India Company and the Peace of Amiens, 1802."

Resolved,—That Mr. Buultjens be thanked for sending these Papers to the Society, and informed that the Council regret that Paper (1) is not suitable for the Journal but that Paper (2) will be referred to the President for further opinion.

10. Resolved,—That the date and business for next General Meeting be left in the hands of the Secretaries.

## SUMPTUARY LAWS AND SOCIAL ETIQUETTE OF THE KANDYANS.

By T. B. PARNATELLA.

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THE Kandyans had been under their native kings until they became the subjects of the English Crown in 1815. Since the time they began to associate with the English they have been gradually changing their customs and habits. But there are still many among them who adhere to their old sumptuary laws and customs.

Even the rich have had from time immemorial an aversion to unnecessary expenditure. Most of the people do not go beyond limits, except those who have been educated in the English style. Though a Kandyan may have plenty of paddy fields, money, oxen, buffaloes, &c., when he goes on a journey he does not make use of a carriage or a horse. According to his way of thinking such expenditure is unnecessary. He thinks he should not incur expense by employing a carriage for a journey which he can accomplish on foot. He does not spend a cent for a journey which occupies him a day or a day and a half. This economy he effects by travelling the whole way on foot, taking from home a *bat-geḷiya* (rice wrapped in a whorl of the arecanut palm) for his meals on his journey.

The staple food of the Kandyans consists of rice and vegetables. To eat meat and fish is unusual. Neither meat, fresh fish, nor dried fish will be bought, except for an important feast.

The outlay for clothes is also limited. One should have for outdoor wear only two cloths and a handkerchief, and for home wear two more cloths and an additional handkerchief. Round the waist, the Sinhalese wrap a cloth, which hangs loose and forms the covering for the lower part of the body

One of the latter cloths is called *toṭamāra redda* and the other *hamas-kónama*. The *toṭamāra redda* is used while the *hamas-kónama* is with the washerman. No new cloth is bought until the *hamas-kónama* is old and unfit for use.

Every family has a fund in reserve. This household fund remains untouched even when buying a new cloth. Such a purchase is made with money obtained in any other way, as wages, or by selling an animal that is reared, or straw, or anything that may not be needed for immediate use. The wife and children are also provided with clothing in the same way. The wife should have only two dresses, one for home use and the other for outdoor use.

The women do not possess more than one ornament of the same kind ; while some have none at all. When occasion demands, such women have to borrow from a friend or relative. Even if there be a reserve fund in the house, it is left untouched in this case. An *ārachchirāla* (village headman) or other *nilame* (gentleman or office-bearer) can use for ten years at least a *tuppattiya* (a very long and broad cloth wrapped round the waist) made of calico or Turkey red cloth. No new *tuppattiya* is bought until the old one is worn out.

When an umbrella is bought from a shop and has been used for some time, a cover of calico or red cloth is put over it. Even if the ribs of this umbrella are broken, it is not thrown away, but they are replaced by new ones. Some people, however rich they may be, will never in the course of their life buy an ornament or a cloth or an umbrella, but will borrow from others. The clothing and ornaments of low caste people are also defined. They are not allowed to spend much on these things.

Formerly no low-caste woman was allowed to wear a neck ornament, unless she be of the Potter or Smith caste ; but now this custom is dying away. In ancient days a low-caste man was forbidden to wear a coloured cloth, or a cloth embroidered with coloured thread, in the presence of a *Radala* (highest grade of Vellāla caste), or within the precincts of *Mahā Nuwara* ("the great city," i.e., the capital, Kandy). Because of these things low-caste people need not spend much for their clothing and jewellery.

They are as careful of their paddy and rice as they are of their gold, silver, and money. No more than four *hundu* (equal to a quart) is cooked at a time for a family consisting of four persons. Half a coconut is used for a meal, unless the household is large, when a whole nut may be used. If a single guest comes after a meal is prepared, it is usual to make him share in what is already prepared, without anything being added. But a larger quantity of food is prepared if the guests are more in number. No more than a handful of rice is given to a beggar, though there may be any amount of rice and paddy in the house. When a *Rodiya* (outcast) approaches the house for the purpose of begging, never anything more than a *laha* (measure varying from three to four quarts) of paddy is given; and when some one comes to collect for a religious ceremony, nothing more than one *hunduwa* of paddy, half a *hunduwa* of rice, and a cent or two is given.

If one of the household is unwell, a member of the family goes to a native physician with about a *gonna* (twenty or so) of betel leaves, as it is thought inauspicious to go empty-handed and tell him of the sickness. The messenger is given some medicine free of charge, which he takes home to be given to the patient. Even if the patient is cured, sometimes the doctor is not remunerated. In the case of serious illness, the physician is bound to visit the patient and administer medicines. If a decoction or a *churna* (powder of pulverized drugs) is to be made, most of the ingredients are got from the neighbours. Only those ingredients that cannot be obtained in this way are bought from the *kaḍa* (boutiques). Not even in most serious cases does the doctor demand a fee. Of course he does not refuse any offered compensation in the shape of money after the recovery of the patient. Very often the physicians get one or two *peṇumkada* (pingo load presents\*). These consist of different kinds of confectionery and fruit, such as plantains, &c. They do not charge a fixed fee as do English doctors.

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\* A "pingo load" is as much as a man can carry on his shoulder at either end of a long flexible piece of arecanut wood shaped for the purpose.

The services of the astrologer, exorcist, and tutor are also sought for just in the same way.

When the help of the carpenter is required for making a piece of furniture or doing carpentry to a house, the Kandyan goes in search of a good one. The carpenter must be fed by him so long as the work lasts. No fee should be paid, even after the work is finished; but it is customary to give presents and rewards in the shape of money, according to the means of the employer. In addition, some give a suit of clothes bought or made for the purpose.

When a ryot runs short of some implement, such as a plough, a *mamoty* (kind of hoe), *ketta* (kind of bill-hook), a sickle, or knife, he does not buy it. If he is in want of a plough, he gets one made by a native ploughwright, rendering him a little help. If he is in want of a *mamoty*, he gets it made by a blacksmith for a small consideration or by helping him in some other way. The same method is adopted in procuring other implements. There are castes who are almost bound by social laws to supply others periodically with implements of cultivation, pottery, *chunam* (lime), ropes, mats, &c. Such people must be given paddy or money, either half-yearly or annually; but if given lands for cultivation (to pay back in kind), neither paddy nor money need be given back.

When a Kandyan's land is to be ploughed, no more expenses are necessary than feeding the ploughman, whether he has buffaloes or not. If he is in want of eight buffaloes or more, he need not hire them. If he has got one buffalo, it is easy to get his land ploughed by ten yoke. A few days before ploughing he has to go to such of his neighbours as have oxen, and ascertain from them whether they will be able to lend their oxen for use that day. He is then sure of getting them, provided they have not been promised to others. When he has borrowed the services of his neighbour's oxen, he should in turn lend his. If he gets certain work done by his neighbour in his field, he must return the like to him. If he gets his field reaped, say by ten men, he himself should work for them in his turn. *Héna* work (cultivation of grain grown on dry land), which is distinct from the cultivation of

paddy, which grows on wet or muddy ground, or any other cultivation, and fieldwork are never done for wages, but by mutual assistance, as in the case of ploughing.\*

If the work is for a headman or some one of consequence, he should go to his neighbours and invite them to do his work by offering them betel. When such is the case, it is not customary to go and work for his neighbours in his turn; but he should give those who work food and drink. The native nobility get their work done in this way. Other classes do their work by mutual help.†

When a party is entertained at a house, or when there is a festival, the custom is to go round the village and collect the things necessary for it from friends, without any payment. Anything that it is impossible to get this way is bought from the bazaar.

Though expenditure is curtailed so carefully in such cases, when anything is done for the sake of “show,” or when he is involved in a law suit, or seeks to secure a post under Government, the Kandyan spends his money extravagantly. In olden days there was a custom of paying money openly to dignitaries to secure a post. A sum of 500 *ridi* was offered to the Disáwa (chief of a province) for getting charge of a district, &c. For other posts also there were fixed amounts.‡ Even at the present day, in conformity with that custom, Kandyans do not hesitate to sell their lands in order to gain Government posts. But it is not usual to spend their money so unsparingly either for raiment and ornament, food and drink, or for their ease and comfort.

Now as to the social etiquette of the Kandyans.

When a woman is confined, the females in the neighbourhood should visit the child and its mother. If the new-born baby is not handed over to the female visitors to take in their arms, it is a breach of etiquette. They would certainly be offended were the custom omitted. When the

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\* Some people have now adopted the custom of hiring labourers.

† In the work of the ryot there are certain things to be done by women.

‡ [If rumour lies not, the “custom” has not altogether died out.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]



relatives living at a distance come to know of the birth of the child, they come one by one with a presentation box, or basket, full of sweetmeats, plantains, &c. To them also the baby should be handed. On such occasions too it is usual to give presents to the child by those who love it.

The expenses at childbirth, puberty ceremony, wedding celebrations, and funeral rites, are limited. At every one of these occasions the dhoby (washerman) is benefited most; but even he is prohibited from asking anything more than the fixed amount. A request for more than the amount is never granted. Though it is not usual to give wedding presents to relatives, every one invited, whether male or female, is bound to give presents to a girl at the ceremony of her coming of age. If one cannot afford to give a present, it is customary not to attend the festival.

When a kinsman is seen approaching the house, some one should go forward a step or two to welcome him, and having conducted him to the house, should offer him a seat. If he is not closely related, it is against etiquette for the visitor to take a seat without being asked to do so. When a low-caste man comes into a house he should remain standing until he is given a mat or a *kolomba* (the lowest kind of stool, roughly made out of a piece of log) to sit upon. And it is also against the rules of etiquette to delay in giving him a *kolomba* or a mat.

When relatives meet together and sit at meals at a festival it is wrong to begin to eat, although food is served in full, without permission from the company. One should not ask for rice, or for certain curries, whilst feasting. It is the work of those who wait to watch carefully and to supply the wants, whether rice or other things.

Whilst feasting only the respected members of the company may speak, and it is unbecoming to say anything disagreeable. Water should be served round before calling for the repast. Without doing this, it is very wrong to invite the guests, saying in a homely style, "*Api itin bat kamu*," "Now let us eat rice," as is usual in the household on other days.

Dignified language, like "*Aḍukku sappayam vemu*," "Let us partake of there past," must be used respectfully to

the assembly. It is wrong to use such colloquial terms as *waren* ("come"), *diyan* ("give"), *palayan* ("go"), either to a superior or to an equal in an assembly. Such terms as *ayubowan* ("good sir"), *yahapat venta* ("please draw nigh"), *lebenḍa* ("please give it"), *awasara* ("may I")\* are suitable. While partaking of food the individuals composing the assembly should be spoken to as respectfully as possible. Whilst in company it is uncivil to get up and walk away after meals before others. One should wait without washing his hand, even if he has finished before others, till they also finish eating. On all important occasions the ladies should be fed first. It is also becoming to feed the pingo-bearers who have accompanied the guest beforehand in an outhouse. When they are served with water, the chief among them should be served first. Even if one should attempt to serve the wrong person, whether among gentle or common folk, by mistake, it should not be allowed by others, but the proper person should be pointed out.

Should a kinsman call at a house even on a day of no special importance, he must be welcomed by going forward as aforesaid, questioned about his "pleasures and sorrows," and meals prepared as soon as possible. It is against etiquette to ask such questions as "Are you hungry?" "Should any thing be prepared?" &c. After serving him with food, &c., he should be questioned concerning his visit, and when he gets ready to go away, one or every one of the inmates should follow him some distance. It is customary to go as far as the stile, if not further, in following the visitor.

Strangers should also be treated respectfully, though not to the same degree. When a worthy man comes into the house he is saluted. This is done by bringing the palms in contact in front of the face and making a bow. This is the national greeting among the Kandyans. It is the usual way of greeting, as hand-shaking is among the English. If one is saluted by another at a gathering or when alone, whether with or without the offer of betel, the salutation must be

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\*The Sinhalese language is full of respectful terms which can hardly be translated into English.

returned. If it is not so returned, it is against etiquette. When one offers forty betel leaves (two sets) to a headman or a *nilame*, the giver must first cut the stalks of the leaves, and then approaching, place them with a slight bow in the receiver's stretched out hand, with the stalk end towards him. Saluting should follow this. It is against custom to break these rules and hand over betel in an assembly. If a present is to be given for a favour, it must also be placed on betel so given.

Soon after meals every one must be offered a quid of betel. This is done by placing the betel leaves, chopped arecanuts, *chunam*, catechu, *niyadandu*, tobacco, and spices (cloves, &c.), neatly on a kind of tray (of metal or wood, sometimes highly ornamented), which is passed round so that every one may select according to his taste. Three different trays must be got ready: the one for the ladies' chamber should either be handed to, or placed near, the chief lady of the company; the other should be placed near the chief man of the gentlemen's party; and the third handed over to the head servant for distribution among them.

If a wedding party is coming to a house, a messenger should be sent in advance. When the party has come within a call's distance of the house, it should stop and fire a gun once or twice. This will be answered by the inmates of the house when they are ready to receive the party. After this the party should be welcomed by those of the house coming forward, led into the house, and well attended to. The routine of entertainment has already been described.

When a death occurs in a village, the other villagers on hearing the news should go to the house and condole with that household. If one has an aversion to go to a house where there is a dead body, he should go at any rate as far as the stile, speak to the head of the house, and condole with him.

Assistance should be rendered towards the cremation, or the interment, of the corpse. If one has anything necessary for the funeral, it is customary to give it free of charge. As soon as the ceremony is over, all wash their heads (applying limes, &c., either green or boiled), bathe well, and go to their several houses; after which each neighbour brings a covered

basket of rice to the mourning house and returns home. Thus there is no need of kindling a fire in the house of mourning for a day or two. Some postpone bringing the rice until the second day, and some even to the third. After this the relatives at a distance begin to visit the mourning family day after day with baskets of rice. It is an inviolable custom to pay a visit to such a bereaved household, even if there be slight enmity. In the case of serious disease also the neighbours come and lend assistance in various ways. They go in search of physicians, fetch drugs, and so forth. Such assistance is not rendered only when there exists downright hatred.

When a low-caste man meets one of a high caste or approaches his house, he should make a bow and salutation in the manner already described. He who is saluted in this way should acknowledge it simultaneously, with a very slight salutation of the same kind.

When a householder has collected a number of men from the village for some work or other, he should treat them with due respect. If it is field work, the plan of the work and the method of executing it should be explained to the most respectable one of the company. Then he, addressing the others, will say: "Kinsmen, it is fitting for us to do this gentleman's work to the best of our ability. Therefore please do (such and such work)." Sometimes he uses such expressions as this: "Do not leave anything undone, lest there be aught to our shame after we have finished the work and gone." In entertaining these people, by serving them with rice and betel, none of the rules of etiquette that are observed at a wedding feast should be violated. When they are about to begin to work, no one should start who is not fit to do so. On such occasions the juniors must watch the procedure of the elders, and follow them accordingly. It is a custom at an assembly to follow the elders in every act done. If there is an arrangement for a dance or anything of that sort to be performed before an assembly, permission to begin must first be obtained from the head person in the company. If the teacher of the performer happens to be present, the pupil should hand over his *uḷekkiya* (a small hand drum

shaped like an hour glass), or any other instrument of music on which he plays, to his tutor, salute him, and get permission from him also. The dance then begins. It is wrong to attempt either to dance or play a tune without this preliminary ceremony.

Soon after the harvest is over, alms should first be consecrated to Buddhist priests with the rice prepared from the new paddy. Next, new rice should be prepared, with special curries, for feeding parents, either by inviting them to one's own house or by taking the food to them. The day on which the new rice is cooked is also observed as an occasion of festivity on a smaller scale.

Nearly all visit their relatives with "pingo loads" when the Sinhalese New Year is drawing nigh. In this way when a kinsman pays a visit to a house with one or two pingo loads, he should be welcomed with affection in the aforesaid manner, and entertained with food and drink according to the means of the person visited. It is against custom to return the baskets empty in which confectionery was brought. When they are returned, either rice and curry, or other sweetmeats and *kiri-bat* (rice boiled with milk of the coconut) must be put into them. Sometimes, if there is no way of getting them so replenished, the baskets are not returned when asked for, but are kept back with the words "We will send them later." This means "A return visit will be paid in a few days with baskets filled with confectionery." If this is not done it is below the standard of due etiquette. If a son, or a daughter, or a son-in-law, or a younger brother, or some such one, visits his elders with a child and with a pingo load, it is customary to give presents to the child. These presents sometimes consist of money and sometimes of clothing and ornaments.

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## KANDYAN MUSIC.\*

By MAHAWALATENNÉ BANDÁR.

KANDYAN music is Sinhalese music.† In later Kandyen times, in the maritime provinces, the ancient system of music began to decline owing to various causes which cannot be discussed in a short essay such as this. In place of the ancient music the low-country Sinhalese began to adopt the borrowed *Nāḍagam* and Hindústāni tunes imported from Southern India, and the *rabāna*, *ḍólé*, violin, and accordion displaced the ancient musical instruments. Later on, in the upper circles, the piano displaced the *rabāna*. One does not now often hear “*kapiriñña*” and “*bailā kapiriñña*” songs to the tunes of the *rawkiñña* and the *ḍólé*. Hindústāni *vritas* have displaced them, but the change is not to be regretted. The following are Hindústāni *vritas* :—

(1) *Rājá wó mai kaw maká, Indara mé Rājá.*

(2) *Jūlata rá té san—sagira tera jūlata rá té san.*

Most of our *muddarappada* songs are of the above and similar tunes.

Here is a specimen of *Kapriñña* tunes :—

*Lála lala—lá lala—lála lala—lá.*

We have no ancient tunes that correspond with the above.

It is curious why the ancient tunes were rejected by a section of the Sinhalese in favour of such as the above. Perhaps it is a matter of taste, and tastes often differ.

The Kandyans however stuck to their native music ; and although we have only a very few really clever musicians at the present day, it can be said that the ancient science has not yet become extinct.

\* Abridged from a voluminous Paper by the writer, who is responsible for proof corrections.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† As I know absolutely nothing of Western music, it is a matter of great difficulty to write an accurate explanation or a correct account of Sinhalese music. Having some knowledge of Kandyen *Tāla Sāstra*, in which I took some interest in the past, and a very large collection of manuscripts, the Society's notice calling for an essay tempted me to undertake the work, for which I confess I am but little qualified.

In former times, indeed till quite recently, the Kandyan nobility, even the great Adigárs, learnt to sing, dance, and play on musical instruments. It was an accomplishment among them then as it is now among the Westerns. The dancing and the playing I refer to must not be confounded with the dancing and playing usually seen performed by "devil dancers." The *viná* and the *uḍekki* were I believe the only instruments used by the upper classes, and the dances and the dancing something like what is described below.

Hands moving as if intent on portraying a number of pictures, feet moving as easily and as quickly and as harmoniously with the music of the *viná* as mercury amalgamates with gold.—*Guttīla*.

The Adigárs, Disáwas, and other wealthy Nilamés had their private bands of musicians attached to their *walaw*, kept up at great expense. The Dévála and Vihára had their own establishments maintained at much expense; while the famous *Kavikára Maḍuwa* attached to the *Mahá Wásala* (Kandyan Court) was under the immediate supervision of no less a personage than the Prime Minister himself, the *Pallé-gampaha Mahá Nilamé*. Honorary rank, landed property, and rich presents used to be bestowed on the musicians for talent and proficiency. All the celebrated poets, musicians, and wits were at one time or another attached to his *Kavikára Maḍuwa* for a certain period. But this is all past history. Not one Nilamé to-day to my knowledge takes the least interest in things of this sort, due probably to force of circumstances. They have neither the money nor the influence to keep a thing of this kind going for any length of time. His time he spends in business, which hardly brings him a sufficient income to keep up a becoming position according to his rank; and the native musicians are left to shift for themselves.

In the olden times musicians depended on the chieftains for maintenance and support, for their profession was not remunerative, and they had to devote much of their time in learning, and improving what they had learnt. Daily they had to devote a number of hours for this purpose, which more or less precluded the possibility of their engaging in any remunerative manual labour. Since they have been abandoned

by their former lords and patrons, they have in a great measure abandoned their profession and taken to the cultivation of land and other occupations, which, occupying most of their time, would not permit them to improve what they had learnt. After boyhood I do not think any musician now devotes a hundredth part of his time to his studies.

A few days ago I met a youthful musician, a great-great-grandson of the once famous Malawara Muhandiram of the *Kavikāra Maḍuwa* and a grandson of the not less famous Saibo Malawarayā of Aḷutnuwara Dévalé, returning home after a day's cool work on a tea estate !

With the extinction of the families of the ancient hereditary chiefs, the withdrawal of the immense power they wielded (which would rob them of their prestige, and consequently their local influence), and the loss of their vast domains whether by alienation or reversion to the Crown, must necessarily disappear not only Kandyan music, but Kandyan craft, sciences, art, manners, customs, habits, rites, and usages ; in short, every thing that was, and is, Kandyan. Such a calamity is not far distant. It has been the case in other countries. And it is but natural, for none other than a hereditary chief of those ancient noble families would have that natural interest, that inherent interest, in the preservation of all that is national of himself and his people.

As regards the origin of Kandyan music little has to be said. It is as old as the Sinhalese language itself.

The Sinhalese language did not originally borrow its music from any other language or people. Although much has been said on the subject, it is still an open question whether the Sinhalese language is an independent language or whether it is one derived from the Sanskrit. If it is the former, then its music must be as old as that language. If it is a dialect derived from the Sanskrit, then the music must be as old as the Sanskrit language. If it—the Sinhalese language—is purely, or partly, the language spoken by the aborigines of the Island, it is reasonable to suppose that its music is at least 2,500 years old, for we are told in the *Mahāwamsa* that Vijayo on the very day he landed in Ceylon heard songs and music in the city Sirivata.



The same primary elements of the Sinhalese language, namely its relation to Sanskrit and Páli and the source of Páli and Sanskrit, exist in its music also. Some of the words in songs and some of the tunes are purely Sanskrit, some Páli, and some purely Sinhalese; while in some songs composed at a later period we find Tamil, Telugu, and Hindústáni words and tunes largely used, well adapted to rhyme with the Sinhalese words and tunes. In the earlier poetry we do not find any Sanskrit or Páli words. This proves that, although Sinhalese music was added to from Sanskrit and other sources, it had its own origin, which must be as old as the origin of that language—the Sinhalese.

The Sinhalese music, as it now exists in the Kandyan provinces, must have been introduced during the Vijayan era, to which additions must have been gradually made from Southern India. I say this because we have not yet come across any song or piece of poetry that existed prior to that era. As has been pointed out, the aborigines had their music, their songs, and their poetry, but as we have none of their literature extant, it must be concluded that their music too perished with their literature; unless, as some think, their language got mixed up with the language of the conquerors, resulting in the Sinhalese language that existed during the earlier part of the Christian era. If this be the case, then it must be concluded that their music itself got mixed up with that of the conquerors. If Ceylon had a people that could give battle to the hosts of Prince Rámá as early as two thousand years B.C., there must have existed a certain state of civilization then. If civilization there was, there must have been music also. Therefore, granting that the language of the aborigines merged into that of the conquerors, the origin of at least a fractional part of the Sinhalese music should be traced to that period.

However melodious Sinhalese music may be to the Sinhalese, it is not possible for the European, or for the matter of that to the Europeanized Sinhalese, to even partially appreciate the melody. For it is a most difficult thing to understand the metre, the tunes, and the rhythm of Sinhalese music, which is so vastly, if not completely, different from European music.

Besides that, before one can begin to appreciate the music, he must learn to understand the meaning conveyed in the songs. To completely understand them he will have to learn all the traditions, the folklore, the mythology, the demonology, and the religion of the Sinhalese—and above all their ideas of things, their ideals and their thoughts; for the songs and poetry which contain the music refer to things and events one does not often hear about.

Without understanding the meaning conveyed in the songs it is hardly to be expected that the music alone would be appreciated. For instance:—

තු ස් ක ල	තුමුල වනයේ මල් රසනාවි	ද
ක ස් ක ල	ගජස් කොපුලත්තිගු රෙහට වැ	ද
ක ස් ක ල	පහරවැනි නිරිඳුට අසුව ද	ද
පි ස් ක ල	හිරනුච්චි දැන් තැවෙහු කුමට	ද

Few perhaps are aware of the saying that the bees are fond of the fragrant ichor that flows from the nipples of the cheeks of the male elephant at certain seasons; and without knowing that, it is difficult to understand the meaning conveyed in the stanza, and without understanding that, the excellence of the piece must be lost and the music itself will not be appreciated. In Sinhalese poetry, composed according to set rules regarding quantity, feet, and pauses, &c., there is not much difference from Sinhalese songs. Songs as well as poetry, by which I mean *kavi*, *gí*, and *sípada*, are composed under the same rules, and any piece of verse could be set to music.

## I.

In a Sinhalese manuscript on music I have in my library it is said that a certain chief "*Théro*" in ancient times sent messengers with rich presents to one Ganitálankára Áchariya, a teacher of music, at Nágapaṭuna in Jambudwípa, and obtained from him a book on music, which the said "*Théro*" is said to have translated into Sinhalese verse, naming it the *Wadankusa-ratnamála*.\* The *pada* in this book are almost all in the Tamil language, with a mixture of Telugu words and words of other Indian dialects.

\* This book says that the science of music belong to the Aṭarwana Véda.

According to this and other books on Sinhalese music there are five primary *tálas*, from which it is said that all the *vṛita wannam*, and *tála* evolved. The five *tálas* are subdivided into 32 *rága*, 64 *gíta*, 64 *disti*, 5 *lila*, 32 *tálam*, 18 *wannam*, 9 *nastyá*, 28 *sural*, 64 *sawudam*, and 64 *saramba* and 64 *tála*. The *rága*, *gíta*, *lila*, *wannam*, and *tála* are different varieties of poetry and songs to different tunes; *disti*, *sural*, *sawudam*, and *saramba* and *tálam* are the various *padas* played on different musical instruments (such as the *bera*, *daula*, *uḍekkiya*, &c.); and *nastyá* and *saramba* and *tálampada* again are the different dances. The *tála* and *tálam*, however, rule singing, playing on instruments, and dancing, for the 5 *tála* are the 5 primary rules of music. The whole system of ancient music is said to have evolved out of the primary *pancha tála* = *tat dit tit ton nan*, which in turn developed into the “*atataya*, *vitataya*, *vitatátaya*, *ghanaya*, *rushiraya*, and *mṛijaṅga-víná-nádaya*,” the main divisions of the system of ancient music.

The musical instruments named in this book are *tála bera*, *palá bera*, *raudra bera*, *teka bera*, *ḍeduru bera*, *perum bera*, *ghosa bera*, *pokuru bera*, *ekes bera*, *kana bera*, *mihĩṅgu bera*, *ḍekki*, *gigiri uḍekki*, *tálampota*, *víná*, *kombu*, *horané*, *wasdaṇḍu nalá*, which with vocal music form the “*Panchatúrya-náda*” of the ancients.

I quote the first of the 32 *tálan pada* from this manuscript. It is called the *Sembatta Tálama*.

The *tálama* is :—

තිත් තිත් තෙයි.

The *pada* is as follows :—

*First part.*

තෙක — නක — තොදිනක් — තොංග තොගත් තොග — තොදිනක —  
තොක්කත — ගෝ.

*Second part.*

තොකනක තකදිත් — තොක්කම් තකතොක් — තොක්කම් තක —  
තක්කම් කම්තක — තක්කිම්තක තාතා කිට් කිට් තේ තත් කිට් කිට්  
තක්කිම් කිට් තකතා.

*Third part.*

වච්චප්‍රචමෙ—වක්කි රච්චිඳම—පොර පල්ලුම ව්‍යුත්පන්නම—  
තුච්චම මරුකොල් උඩුතුරුවෝ.

කසකම්බයේ වක්කි රුරම කෝකුලපියන් ආරම්භිත—  
මෙම අඩුම අර්ථරම—නිත් නිත් කෙසි.

The first part is stepped with the left foot, accompanied by movements of the left hand ; the second part with the right foot, accompanied by movements of the right hand ; and the third part with both the feet with movements of both the hands. Under this *tála*, the first in order, over two hundred *adawwa* dances have been composed. This as well as the other *tálam* is played on *bera*, &c., as well as danced.

The following is a *sawudama* that is only played, but not danced :—

*Kálakúta Sawudama.*

ඊංඉට්ටං ඉරනා ඉරුතරු ඉරුමුත් ඉරුතරු ජරු නාරුතරු දිරුතරු  
ඉරු තරු තත්තත් නිත් තොත්තත් නිත්තෙසි තාතත් තලංගු තදිහිත  
තතුදිත් දිත් මෙමතාතත් දිත්තම් රෙරෙ රෙත් තුතු තරිතරි කිට  
තරි කාලතුට සමුදම.

Each *pada*, each *wannama*, each *tála* has a distinguishing name ; and most of these a prefatory *gí* or *kavi*, giving instructions as to how it should be executed, its origin, or a challenge to the rival player.

Specimens of all the instrumental tunes need not be given. The following is the *Sumanarāja sawudama*, the tune of which is the *Mini wannama* ("pealing of a bell").

The tune "*tá ná né—tana ná ná—tana.*"

යා නා සේ සුරසුර තෙන දෙවතෙ විනාසේ සුමිතිරි නදි      නා  
නා නා මේ රච්චලසිවි මෙතිපත් මතතුන්හට අසනට මෙදි      නා  
නා නා සේ තානානානා තන ත.ලෙට සමුදම ග්‍රහසුම      නා  
වා නා මේ කිම සේනාඳුමට විනාවාදෙට ලෙස දෙව අත නා

I am playing the *Sumanarāja sawudama*, which musically is as melodious as the *viná* music of the celestial goddesses for the enjoyment of the assembled great from different countries. Why, oh ! why, do not the *Dewanganas* from the celestial regions come down to dance as they did on the occasion of the *viná* contest ?

This refers to the *viná* contest between Guttīla Pandita and his pupil Músila in the Guttīla Játaka—rendered into verse by the celebrated Wétṭéwe, one of the cleverest of the Sinhalese poets. Guttīla is said to have been a master musician; Músila was his pupil. When the latter thought that he had acquired all that his master knew he challenged him. The God Sakra befriended the Pandit, who despaired of victory, for he had unselfishly taught his pupil all that he knew. Through Sakra's help Guttīla was able to come out of the contest victorious.

## II.

Here follow some of the principal *Wannam* or tunes:

### 1.—*Uranga Wannama*.

තන, තමිදනාන, තානතනාන, තනතමිදනාන තමිදනාන.

#### *Song.*

සිය කුල සේ ම තල කර ඥේ ම පියතුණුගා ම සමඟි න්දු  
පින කර සේ ම මර සැර සා ම දින උරෙහි ම මනබු න්දු  
තථි කොඳ පේ ම කල සැම දු ම දෙන සිරි ආම කිරති න්දු  
දු නු විල නා ම දිඟුපති සේ ම රුකදෙනි ගම සුර නි න්දු

An invocation to Vishṇu to give long life to Dunuwila Disáwa.

### 2.—*Udara Wannama*.

තනතමිදනතමිදනාන, තානතනත්තමිදනාන—  
තනතමිදන තමිදනාන තමිදනාන.

#### *Song.*

සුවිසල උරතල තැර විසු සිරිසඳු හැමවාර දිඟුලිය	
ගෙලෙ යසහාර සුපැලැඳි විස ලිය	ඳ
දුනුවිල දිඟුපති විර අපතිමි වැද සිරිසාර අවසර	
ගෙන තෙකවාර බැසරගමබල නිම	ඳ
ලඟුපටිගෙන අතතැර කියන විරිදු කවි මිර වයන	
පදව බෙරතාල තබමින් කොමල පතු	ඳ
විසිතුරු සොසුරු ලියර පවිදගවැන ගම්බිර අසදිය	
තැදුම් විසාර පානෙහු මෙ සඟි සිය	ඳ

The song describes the "*Lanupati-danga*" dance. It contains also a prayer to Dunuwila Disáwa to grant permission for the dancers to perform the dance.

This is sung when the "*Hawadi-danga*" is danced. Nine cords of equal length and thickness are taken together. One end of the nine cords is fixed to a pole about eight feet high from the ground. Nine dancers take part in the dance, each taking hold of one of the cords at the loose end. The movements of the dance are so arranged that after the performance the cords will be found to have formed into a "*hawadiya*," chain. The formation of the loops and knots is regular, and their number and the space between each loop equal.

### 3.—*Ukusa Wannama.*

තානාතමිදන තදනතමිදනාන තමිදන තමිදනානා.

#### *Song.*

පි නා රනනංස පයෝදරයෝ නාතෙක් සිට ලැම මා	ගේ
යා නා කොදනුල මබ සහ වැස පිනාරතියග සිතලා	ගේ
නානා රනිසෑප විද වුන්මට දුනාතර දුක්මෙ විශෝ	ගේ
මා නා යක හිමි දෑන් මවෙතට තේනා කිම වරදෙය මා	ගේ

By a neglected mistress addressed to her lover.

### 4.—*Nāga Wannama.*

තානෙනා තමිදන තමිදන තමිද—තානෙනා තමිදන තමිදනා  
තන තනා තමිදන තමිදන තමිද—තානෙනා තමිදන තමිදනානා

#### *Song.*

සෞ ව නා කර මි න් මනා බබ සේ වනා කරවුන් මට හු පා  
ලෝවෙනා අඟ නෝ සිනා වෙනකාරනා දුනෙනා අමනා පා  
මා ස නා කළලෙන් නනා පතමින් ගුනා කර හිමිසද රූ පා  
ආ ස නා ත නි මා ස නා බව දේස නා කරසනි නොව කෝපා

To her heartless lover, by a lady who says she is always in tears.

### 5.—*Hanumā Wannama.*

තමිද නාන තනානා—තමිදනා තනා—තමිද නානානා තමිද නාන  
තානානා.

#### *Song.*

සුවිසාර දෙත් අතිලා  
සුද පැරවින් රූසු නැර පත්තර දී බැදී පැනලා—  
සත්කාර කර හැරලා  
පතිතාර මෙන් යස පූරනෙන් දිසි වීර නරපාලා.

Describes the wholesale slaughter of enemies in a battle at a place called Pannara, during the wars between the Sinhalese and Portuguese.

6.—*Músala Wannama.*

තමිදන තමිද නානා—තානෙන—තමිදන තන තමිදන තානා.

*Song.*

පිරිසිදු තෙදන රූසා  
පලකල සිරිසර පිරි මදුරට පිවිසා—  
පඬුරු නලල ඇසා  
මැතු මබ පතඹර නිති තිරසට පිවිසා.

Refers to the alleged vengeance taken by the Goddess Pattini on the King of Pandy.

7.—*Tune.\**

තම තමිදන තනා තමිතන—තාන තමිදන තනානමි.

*Song.*

ඉඤ්ඤ පංකර තේරසින් දිලි සම්මුඛ සුරිඳුන් විසින් සෙ	ද
සුන්කලෙන් අසුරන් සුදෙන් ඉරමින් මවා මසුරන් නැති ඉ	ද
ඉඤ්ඤ රත්නිරයින් නිපත්සද අඤ්ඤාරය සුන්කලෙන් මි	ද
මන් නිතින් රූකදෙන් මෙ සම්මුඛ සුඤ්ඤ සුරිඳුන් විසින් සෙ	ද

An invocation to the God *Sammuka*, the God of Katara-gama, to preserve the life of the composer.

8.—*Tune.\**

තන තමිදනාන, තාන තනමිදනා—තානෙන  
තන තමිදනාන, තාන තනමිදන, තන තමිදන තානා.

*Song.*

නිලිතුල තුන්ද යසනත වී පෙ	මා—ඉදහන
කරුණමෙන්ද පියසුරු පින පිරිමැද පැ මෙ	මා
රනිසැප වින්ද හිමිසද වී පෙ	මා—දුන් හිමි
ඉටු මිතුරින්ද මවෙතට එබ නොයදනු නුඹ නි	මා

A love song. A lady asks a friend to intercede on her behalf and bring back her lost lover.

9.—*Kumára Wannama.*

තම තමිදනන් තමිදනා තමිදනා තනා, තන  
තමිදනන් තමිදනා තමිදනා තනා.

*Song.*

සිරි ලර රජසින්ත රජු ග	දි—ඇරි
දිරිතර සෙන් රනමැද වැ	දි—ඇරි
සුදකර ගන්කොරුතැන්තෙ	දි—රුඳු
ඇදගෙනගෙන නෙන මැටි ද	දි—රුඳු

Refers to the battle at the Ganorutenna.

10.—*Wayróði Wannama.*

තාන, තන, තන, තාන, තන, තන, තාන තන, තමි, දුනතානෙන,  
තමිදන තන තන, තමිදන තන තමිදනත්තන තානා.

*Song.*

කෙල කෙලා රතී යහන සිරිසර පලකලා අප සමග අනුබද  
දල දලා ලොබ බැදන ලත් තිමිතුමන් විය ලර තේ  
කෙල කෙලා හැල් කිමිද වියො සිදු නිලවෙලා වදරදගෙ සුදයට  
ගල ගලා තෙත් දහර විහරන කරමි තනි යහ තේ

By a lady to her lover, complaining of continued neglect.

11.—*Líkeli Wannama.*

තමිදනත් තමිදනෙන තානෙන තනතානමිදන තනතානත් තමි  
දුනෙන තානෙන තමිදනානා.

*Song.*

සත්සුන් ලෙස භායන වායන ගුරුවරුන් සිට තිවි	
තාලන් බේරිය තුරිය නදයෙ	නා
නත්තඵවත් සිත්කාරනු මේ ශ්‍රී සරඹයෙන් සිට	
රත්තමි රසමෙන් සුරතනලෙස දිලෙ	නා
ගනිමින් දිස්නා ලනු මේ නම පවිති සුඤ්ජ තමිදු	
තත් තමිදුනෙන තානෙන වදනි	නා
අල්ලන්තෙන් මේ ශ්‍රීවෙසු සකි වුකවාඩන් පවි දහ	
දිම රුක් තත් දිමිතිට දිමිතිට පදයෙ	නා

Describes a *Líkeli* dance.

12.—*Kudirádi Wannama.*

තත්, තත්, තනත්, තනෙන, තත්, තත්, තනත්, තනෙන, තත්, තත්  
තනත්, තමිදනානා—

තන, තන, තනන, තනෙන, තන, තන, තනන, තනෙන, තන, තන  
තනන, තනෙන, තානා.

*Song (i.).*

ඉක්මන් පවත් තුරතු කොත්කත් කරන් දෙවනු ගත් පිම්ම නික්ම  
නාමයි

හුනිලගල තුරතු පිටිනිහිල පැන කඩිනමට මෙරප වැඩසිටපු විලසේ  
විඳිත් රජෙක් දිනන මිත්තුන් ඒසත් තුරතු මැද්දෙන් ගයෙත්  
ගෙන සර්

සතුටු පවුරට එදුන දිනිදු ගයමිනි සරන ගසලනුනු විලසමවෙසු



*Song (ii.).*

සත්වසු යුත් තිරනතෙක් තුංදිමුත් තිරන කිත්තම් දිගත් සසුරවා  
 තෙද පතල දුලච්චන දනලකල මන්ත්‍රිදෙස යුගපතල රඟ උදුලවා  
 සත් අංග යුත් ත්‍රිවිද සතතින් නැතත් සතර ලත් තුංගවු නිරිදු මේ  
 දිලිලතර බලැති දිවකර සෙංකංඛලේ පුරවර වඩන විලසේ

The two songs describe horsemanship performed by the King of Kandy.

13.—*Sihanadi Wannama.*

තම්දනත් තම්දනෙතා, තම්දනත් තම්දනෙතා, තානත්තම්ද  
 නෙතා, තන, තම්දනත්තම්දන තම්දනානා.

*Song.*

ර න් ව න්	තන පිරිවැද මත්මෙන් බද වැල	
	දන තැන් තැන් නක ඇද පෙම්	නේ
මෙ න් සු න්	සිසි උච්චතතින් ලත්කොට සිඹ	
	සිඹ වුන්මි අමපිරි ලව	නේ
ව න් යො න්	කෙලි කෙල පෙර දුන් නෙක් සැප	
	සිහිනොව මින් දැන් මගෙ ලද විසි	නේ
දු න් නෙ න්	තද මෙවිසේ ගින්නෙන් ලන වර	
	තන දුන් දුන් කිය සකි ගොසි	නේ

By a disconsolate lover to his mistress.

14.—*Surapoti Wannama.*

තත්තනා තාන තත්තන, තත්තනා තත්තන තත්තන තත්තන තානත  
 තම්දනෙතා.

*Song.*

ගොදර යහන උමයග ලෙස පෙර අප ලග වටකර නිතිසේ වී සේ  
 තුංග පියසුරු අකලග වන වත සිහිමින්ද සැප විද නොපමාවී සේ  
 රඟ රතිලිය මගෙ අගසැප නැත මනරඟ ශරපස විද ජීවී සේ  
 මංගල තුරතුපිටින් ලංගනොව්වනුමෙ නරෙඤ්ජයින්තරද අසපාවිසේ

By a queen to King Naréन्द्रa Siṃha, complaining of neglect.

15.—*Naiyādi Wannama.*

තාන තනම්දන තම්දනා—තම්දන තනම්දන තන තම්දනානා—  
 තන තනතම්දනතනා—තම්දන තම්දන තන තම්දනානා.

*Song.*

ච ර ල	මිසුරු පිල් අසු	ශං—පවු
න ල ල	බ දද රද මෙන් දිලි පත	ශ
ඊ ද ල	දෙබැම නිඹ පත	ශ—දිසි
ල ක ල	ගහන රනතුස ලෙස නිත	ශ

Describes female beauty.

16.—*Ganapoti Wannama.*

තෙමි තේනම් තෙන තෙනා නාන තෙනා නම් තෙන තෙනතේනම්  
තෙන තෙනන නාන තෙනානා.

*Song.*

ච ත් කෑ එ මි	පිරිසද යුත් සුසුත් තනතුග අත් දෙතින්	
	නිතින් පිරිමදිමින් තොසි	තේ
ර ත් නෙ ලු මි	පතදර දත් හුසුත් කොදපෙලයුත් උවත්	
	සිඬ සමහන් මිති	තේ
සි ත් ලෙ සි ත්	විසු අගපත් නරෙඤ්ජරසින්හ කින් උතුම්	
	ලක තිම් නරනිඳු	තේ
තෙන් බැඳින්	එපමනවත් මෙදුන් නැතිකොට මත්	
	ඉතින් කෙසේ වැවෙමිඤ්ඤ තොදු	තේ

By a queen to King Naréन्द्रa Siṅha, complaining of neglect.

17.—*Tune.\**

තන තන තන නානා—තාතෙන නතාන තත්ත නානා.

*Song.*

පිරි	සිඳු සුගුන බස සේ	මි—නිති
සිරි	කතසේ වරහන පේ	මි
සිරි	පති නරෙඤ්ජරසින්හ සො	මි—දුක
සිරි	පද වදිං මං මද කා	මි

By a female to King Naréन्द्रa Siṅha.

18.—*Tune.†*

තන තමිදනා තමිද නාතමිද නානා—තාන තනමිදන තන තමිද  
නානා.

*Song.*

ක ප ට	පලමු පුල්වත්	අවතාරය
ස ත ට	අබය දෙන නාගයන	අවතාරය
ල ක ට	උතුන් දසවෙස්	අවතාරය
ය කු ට	කියම් පරසිඳු දුම්බුඩ	අවතාරය

From the *Galakṣepūḥaṭṭana*, an account of the construction of the rock temple at Alutnuwara. It refers to the Hindú Trinity.

\* Name unknown.

† Resembles the *Magaraja Wannama*.

## 19.—Tune.\*

තමිදන තන තමිදනා—තානෙන—තමිදන තනමිදන නානා.

## Song.

පඬිරජ ගුනය අසාලා	මම දුං නොරටක ආ	වේ
විකුනම් අගය වඩාලා	කුමටද සලඹ හෙතා	වේ
තිමිසද අසව බඩාලා	බබටද සොරැයයි තී	වේ
ගසමිත් තනය කඩාලා	ගිතිලම් පුරෙ මදුර	වේ

Refers to the vengeance wreaked on the Pāṇḍiyan king by the Goddess *Pattini* for the murder of her husband, Prince *Pālanga*.

## 20.—Tune.†

තානා තනා තමිද නානා තනා තමිදන තමිදනා තනා තමිද නානා.

## Song.

කා ම	රස ලවන පිරි සේම මුවරදන කර කාමයෙන් ලැමද	
	විල වැඩු	ඉ
සේ ම	රන තිසර දිසි පින පිසුරු විරහ පාසයෙන් බැද	
	නොමද දුරු	ඉ
වි ම	නොව මවෙන පෙරසේම ඇර මහිමිසද කාරනය	
	කිමද දුං කිපු	ඉ
පේ ම	ඔර සොදුර අසනා මගුනනැන සපිරි මහිමිතුම දැක	
	කිමද කරු	ඉ

## 21.—Kadambapaksi Wannama.

තෙමි තෙනමි, තෙනමි තෙන තෙමි, තෙනා තෙනනමි තෙන  
තෙනමි තෙනමි තෙන තෙමි තෙන තෙනෙනා.

## Song.

වි ත් ප ස න් ලෙසි න් බබලන මෙන් නානා ලිය ගත්	
කැළින් තොමින් නිබදම විහිදී	මා
අ ත් දෙ සි න් නිති න් පිරිමදිමින් ඉනා ඉබඹ රංකුඹුන්	
ලෙසින් තන රනහංස සේ	මා
ම ත් වෙ මි න් බොමි න් දෙඅදරමිනාලෙස ලන්සෙවින්	
මෙදුන් කෙලෙසක සැනස්	මා
සි ත් ලෙ සි න් පෙමි න් දවසැර දුන් තේනා දුක මන්	
විදිත් මෙනුන්ෂම නිදි නොලබා	මා

By a lover to his lady-love.

\* The *Ummatta Wannama*, or a corruption of it.

† Another *Uranga Wannama*, but quite different from the other. I cannot say whether it is a clerical error on the part of the copyist, or whether there are two tunes under that name.

22.—*Sewula Wannama.*

තමතමිදන තානාමි දනතමිදනතානාමි තමිමිදන තානත්තෙයි  
තමිදනා තමිදනානා.

*Song.*

ම න න ම පෙරහිටන් අන් දුන් බස කනින් සුන්බුන්කර  
වැහුන් මිස උන් උන්නොමක C  
ස න සු න මදමති න් රන්වන් බඳ සෙවින් උන්නෙන්  
සිඬු නෙතින් පෙති කුඳ යන නු C  
දු න් අ න් සලෙඳුවන් ගෙන් දුන් බස සෙවින් රන්කන්  
රස මගෙන් හිමිසඳ අත්හැරි ක C  
මන්යොන් සැර අතින් ගෙන යුදුවන් බැවින් මන් දුන්  
කෙලෙසකින් සැනසෙහි හිමි නැතික C

By a lady to her lover, describing her faithful attachment to him, in return for which she has been treated with heartless neglect.

23.—*Tune.\**

තමිදනතනතමිදන තනෙතත්තනෙන තනාන තානත්තනතමිදන  
තනතමිදනා.

*Song.*

එපල මතෙහි අනුකූල සෙවෙල වරල ගත නිල  
සුපිපි සරෙස වත ලීල නිලිසුලැ සා  
අදර තමර පෙති දූල තිසර දෙනන නුඟු කුල  
බමර නැමති මිනිමාල ගෙලෙසර සා  
තරගපෙලැති රුලි ලාල පැලඳ සිසිල් සුදු සේල  
ලිහිනු මෙවුල් ඉහ කෝල නොම ගවි සා  
මෙලෙස සුසැදි සුවිසාල තිනපිටි වැව කමලාල  
ලියසෙ දනන් සිතු ආල වෙති සුදි සා

The song is by Gajaman Nóná, the celebrated poetess, in which she describes the beauty of Tinapitīvēwa.

24.—*Kirala Wannama.*

තත්තනත්තත් තනෙනත් තනෙනත්තන තත්ත තනත් තනෙනා.

*Song.*

මෙන්න ඉතින් මෙ අසන් සකි මෙමගෙන් දුන්හැටි වෙන්කරලා  
බි න් න නොගත්ත ලෙසින් පවසන් මම වන්නම නම සොය ලා  
දෙත්ත උඩින් ගමනින් නඳ දුන්හැටි මෙන් කවියෙන් බැඳ ලා  
ම න් න අසන් කිරලුත්තෙ මෙ වන්නම නම දැනගත්ත බ ලා

The song describes how the tune came to be composed when seeing two sea-gulls flying, each trying to overtake the other.

\* Name unknown, but is a very popular Wannama.



29.—*Asadrisa Wannama.*

තතන තතන තාන තතන, තතන තතන තාන තතන, තතන තාන  
තනතමිද නානා.

*Song.*

සසිරිබරිනි පාන තෙදිනි ගුනෙනි නැතිනි සාර පිනැති	
දිනිදු මා වදනි සුරුවිලසේ	මා
බිඳින විරිදු මාන නිතිනි මිහිදුවරන සේම දිනන පැලදි	
රජ රජ කිරුලය සේ	මා
අසුර සුදෙනි රළු සුරිදු හතුරු අසුරු මාරනකර විජය	
නාද නුති ලැබු විලසේ	මා
මෙදින කලය විරවිකුම් මෙලක හිමිදු රජසිංහ විරිදු	
මෝඩ ඉංග්‍රීසි වැනසි	මා

Also refers to a Kandyan victory over the English.

30.—*Tisara Wannama.*

තමිදනා තාන තනින, තමිදනා තාන තනින, තාන තනින, තාන  
තනින, තාන තමිදෙනානා.

*Song.*

ම • ඉ තා බාලකලම අත්වෙතා මූන පමන ජේන	
නොමැති මාන ඇදින ජේවදුන්ද සේ	මා
පෙත් පපා බාල හංසසින් යුතා මුදුකරන පිනදෙපොඩි	
බාල දෙතන ජේමයෙනද බෝ	මා
මත්වෙතා කාමමනින පන්සර සේම පහස ලීල නො	
කර ආලවඩනු සේම වින්ද ජේ	මා
දුන්නැතා ජේන පමන දුක් ඉතා විය මහද වාහු බැ	
රිය මා හිමිසඳෙ නේහු කින්ද වෙත මෙ මා	

A love song by a lady, describing her fidelity to her lover and complaining that the love has not been requited.

31.—*Kinduru Wannama.*

තමිදන තමිදන තමිදන තමිදන තාන තනින තමිද තනින, තනින  
තමිදන තමිදන තනින තමිදන තානිනා,

*Song.*

අතින කොමල ලැමද මෙමගෙ බාහු තිසර දෙතන	
කැකුම් මහිනකලට සිඹිති උවන තුරුදු වි න	දේ
නිතින සවන පිනන වදන කාම මනින යහන නිදන	
මදන දහිරි තැරම පුරුදුකරපු මේස	දේ
සොබන ගුනැති මහිමිසදිනි නේනකලට මෙමබ ඉතින	
විදිහු කෙලෙස මදන විදින සැරය මා හ	දේ
හිතන මෙමගෙ මෙදුක ගොසින පාද දෙසුන නැමද	
මහිමි කියනු වඩින විලස මවෙත නොකර මේ වදේ	

By a lady to her unfaithful lover, exhorting him to return to her.

32.—*Puravikōvul Wannama.*

තානා තානතනා නාතන තාන තනින තනතමිදනා.

*Song.*

යා නා මේ ම ද නා මාවෙත පිණු සුරති රති විල් ම න්නා  
 පි නා බානතනා මා ලැබ සුණු හැරිය මන යොන් දි න්නා  
 නා නා ර ග කු ර මේ සැවි කාමමනින සිතු පෙත් ල න්නා  
 නේනා මේ දුකිනා මා හිමි වාණු බැරිය විශොගින් ද න්නා

This song is also by a disconsolate lady to her heartless lover, complaining that the fire of unrequited love is fast consuming her.

The following six stanzas give the names of the eighteen principal *wannam* and the four *avadanam*, in the order in which they are sung.

*Names of Wannam in Verse.*

වන්නන් දහඅට රග තමයි පවසන්නේ කවි සිංදු කිය න්නේ  
 තොන්නන් තර්කට වන්නන් දහඅට දන්නේ මේසැවි පවස න්නේ  
 පළමුව දහක වන්නමටයි පවසන්නේ පිළිවෙල අහප න්නේ  
 දෙවනුව නාන වන්නමටයි පවසන්නේ මේ සැවි දූතන න්නේ

තුන්වෙනි ලරහා වන්නමටයි පවසන්නේ කිව්දුනි අස ති  
 ශිව්වෙ නි ශවුලා වන්නමටයි පවසන්නේ සබෙ සැවොම අස ති  
 පස්වෙ නි මුසලා වන්නම කියති සයවෙනි ලකුසා වන්නම කියති  
 සත්වෙ නි විශ්වේ වන්නම කියති අටවෙනි හනුමා වන්නම කිය ති

නවවෙනි කවි	නි වයි නයියා	වි
දසවෙනි කවි	නි වයි මසුර	වි
එකොලොස කවි	නි වයි සිංහනා	වි
දෙලකට කවි	නි වේ කුදිර	වි

දහතුන කවි	නි කිරලා	වන්නම
දහහතරට	නි අසළිස	වන්නම
පහලව කවි	නි ඊරවි	වන්නම
දහසය කවි	නි සුරපති	වන්නම

දහහත කවි	නි ගනපොත් වන්න	ම
දහඅට වන්නම	ලදුර වන්න	ම
මෙලකට පවසති	රසවත් මිස	ම
කීමට පරසිදු	සිව් අවදන	ම

පලමු නිසර	අවදනම කිය	ති
දෙවෙනි කිසුරු	අවදනම කිය	ති
තෙවෙනි අලංකාරය	එපවස	ති
සුරවි කොඩුල්	සිව්වන්නට කිය	ති

*Wannam.*

- |                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| (1) Dáhaka Wannama   | (10) Mayurádi Wannama  |
| (2) Nága Wannama     | (11) Siṇhanádi Wannama |
| (3) Uranga Wannama   | (12) Kudirádi Wannama  |
| (4) Sēwula Wannama   | (13) Kirala Wannama    |
| (5) Músala Wannama   | (14) Asadrisa Wannama  |
| (6) Ukusa Wannama    | (15) Irádi Wannama     |
| (7) Wayiródi Wannama | (16) Surapati Wannama  |
| (8) Hanumá Wannama   | (17) Ganapati Wannama  |
| (9) Naiyádi Wannama  | (18) Udara Wannama     |

*Awadanam.*

- |                      |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| (1) Tisara Awadanam  | (3) Alaṅkāra Wannama |
| (2) Kinduru Awadanam | (4) Purawi-kovul     |

Besides the above there are a number of other tunes, and combinations, and parts of tunes.

*Dáhaka Wannama.*

**තාන තනමිදන තන තමිදනානා—තබෙන තනාතන තන තමිදනානා**

*Song.*

පොත ත් නිලබල නැබයිරි සරන	ත
කොතත් කාලකර කිමකර කිරන	ත
අග ත් පාලනැම සුර සහ මෙසුන	ත
අමු ත් රජසිත්ත නරනිඳ රුකඳ	ත

The first stanza of *Parāṅgi Hatana*. An invocation to the gods to protect King Rāja Sinha.

### III.

The *Irádi* tunes, as far as I can make out, are five in number.

1.—*Maha Irádi.*

තන තමිදන තමි—දනතා නාභේතන—තනතාන තමි—දන තානා  
තන—තනතමිදන තමිදනානානා.

*Song.*

බදිමින් ගිවෙන, වන්දන පම තනමින් පිපි කුසුමත් මුවරද සමගින් පරපුටු සත් ගෙනඑන පවතින් ගිවෙදේ	වි
මනශෝන්ද්‍රභූ සැරසුන් විභූදිය, බදිමින් දද තනමින් නලසුටනැගෙමින් මගකිසමින්සෙද ගර පසයෙන් විද ප්	වි
දූසමත් කුසුමෙහිවත් පිතිදිය සදුනෙන් හිම කොකුමෙන් ගත වැනිවැනි තැන් ගොර උරඟුන් විසලෙස දූනෙමින්	වි
ඉතිනින් සක්වෙතසයින් රපසිංහ නිරිඳුන් සිරිපද පංකර වැද මෙදකින් සනසනලෙස දත් සැල කරපත් නොපමා	වි



2.—*Irāḍi*.

තමිදනා තන තමිදනත් තමිදනත් තන තානා.

*Song.*

කුන්ද සියසන දර මසුදප් බන්දවා රිය සර සැවගෙන  
මන්ද මාරුන පසගතුරුසිදු සංදෙවා නොලසේ  
නන්ද ර නම කුසුම ශරගෙන පුඬුවාපි කවිරුදු කාහල  
කින්ද තව සැල නොකොලෙ සති මෙ නරෙන්ද්‍රසිංහ රජුටා

3.—*Sulu Irāḍi*.

තන තමිදන තානා—තානෙය තන තන තමිදන තමිදන තමිදන තානා.

*Song.*

දින, මිනිනිලගෙන අනිලාත ලේ—තෙක්කුං  
හරිමිනි ඡල රුසුනම ගෝරහර දිරි පැබලේ  
කල, මිනිකිරුලක හැම හුත ලේ—සක්මන්  
කරවනි පාල මහු කුල ගජසිංහ දිළි මේකලේ

4.—*Anowarata Irāḍi*.

තමිදනා තමිදන තනතාමි දනත් තන තානා—තාන තන තමිදන තනතමි දන තන තාන.

*Song.*

නැවුම් නරපති මිනිකිරුලු මුදුනත සැදු ලකුඩු සිරිපද නඹු රු  
සියලු සිරි දුන මෙමුදු සිරිලක හැම බැබලු පුරනාර අඟු රු  
සුන් පුරුදර සිරිගත් විරජිතවිය නිත්සර ලකි නිති සේ  
කැත්කුලා අප හිමි පොත් කඟ් හිමිදින සත්තිර ලැබ නිති සේ

5.—*Mahawrata Irāḍi*.\**Song.*

තුන්තෙන් ලොව පුවතරවත් නැත පැනසර පත්  
මන්තෙද බලමන රු  
පින්වත් වරරජසිංහ නම්සුත් තෙදහිමි හටදෙන්  
සෙන් නිති හැම මෙමු රු  
බිලන්දන් දිබබල පාරන්හිත්හට රුසු පැ විත්  
මෙන් තෙක බැට දි  
ගත්තෙන් පිවිතුරු ගජසිංහ නරනිඳු ලෝ රුක්  
මෙන් සිරි සුසැ දි  
වාග්දොං බලා තෙදතුලු සොබනා තුන්ලොව යස විසු ලා  
සුන් බොහාලන් හා ජයගෙන සතරුකි ජගත් අපරවෙලා  
දිමෙන් මන්තුඩුකර පාමින්මෙන් සුරතුරු වුවත්  
හයමර සේ  
බුමින්දන් තලලිත දු නිත්තෙන් තිලකෙති රජ සිංහ  
හිමිසේ ය සේ



From *Kalagedi-málaya* :—

This is a book giving a description of the female dance named "*Kalapimbuma*," performed by women of the "*Kavikára* caste," as well as songs sung at that dance. Now there are only a very few dancers that I know of.

වා නු	දෙබැම සුග දුනු පටු නල	ලා—බැම
දේනු	එරන් තෝඩුත්තන් සුව	ලා
පේනු	එදුටු සලෙටුටු සිතුබැදි	ලා—එබි
යා නු	එවිලියෙන් නොදූකම හැරි	ලා
සුර තල්	මගෙ සැදුලමා එතනිහ	ට
මන කල්	බදිනට තුටුවෙන් රුසිර	ට
සිතුලොල්	කරකල පිඹින සිරුව	ට
නුබ පල්	මුතුහර දෙමි සිතුවිය ම	ට

සරත් එකලවත් සොම්කැපුමෙන් සිරිලවත් දෙනෙන්  
නිල්මිනිසෙ ඉදු  
සුරත් කමල මුව දසත් එමුතුසුතු පෙලක් ලෙසින් සැදු  
එපිරිසිදු  
කරත් එනිල සිකි කැසුම් පිලසෙ වරලසක් එදිග  
මල්පටිනිබැඳු  
බරත් සුවල දම්කුඹුතන ලසුලා සිහිනිගදුනු මිට එමද  
රදු

The first verse, as well as the third, describes female beauty ; the second is an exhortation to the dancer *Lamá Etaná*.

From *Sringára* :—*First part.**Tune.*

ශ්‍රීරත්නානා—පුදු දුරතල—ශ්‍රීරත්නානා.

First line : ශ්‍රීත්සරදසුන්ස—රුහරුවක්මෙසා—දුරතුර ලංකේසා—තරෙතුර සිංහේසා ; then follows the dance : තකත් තත් තිත් තාත්දෙත් පෙත්තුතත් තද්දිම්මිතත් පෙත්තත්තිටත් තත්දිත්තු තිංහත්තත් තොංගත්—ශ්‍රීරත්නානා.

*Second part.*

Second line : අඤ්ඤානිසමාත—එඤ්ඤානිසිරත—සිඤ්ඤානිසරසත—ලඤ්ඤාන දිගුතෙත ; then follows the dance : තකත් තත් තාම් තත් තත් තිතුත් තත් තිම් තෙසි තෙසි තකත් තක තක තාම්—ශ්‍රීරත්නානා.

*Third part.*

Third line : කියන හියට පද තබනු නොකරවද වයන නදට පද රඟන නොවන බෙද ; then follows the dance : තත් තකත් තත් තිකුත් තිකුතක තිකුත් තිකුතක තිමිත්තිත් තෙයි තෙයි—ශ්‍රීරජමා නානා.

*Fourth part.*

Fourth line : අදන දෙනෙන තොස සොබන රු රජ—සකරන සතර දස දනනුතුර ලෙස—දුර්වල ගුගුරු ලලිත කහ පොත ; then follows the dance : තද්‍රෙමිමෙන රේනකිට ලිලවිනෝදන අල රඟන දූක—ශ්‍රීරජමානානා.

## V.

From *Nertamāla*, rules for playing on instruments, singing, and dancing :—

තමො බුබාය—බේරි තාල හිත නෙතී අතී මුරගමම් පාරවටු සවු දත් අනිගන ගුරු ලග දෙතිස් සිවුමිති සිවුවත් ශපතරු මිතුරු අසර පාට වණි අමෘතකලා විෂකලා ගැනු සුගැනු දේවතා අසර පාට පල අපල නිමිති නැතත් කොන්දට පාදබෙදිත් සුසැට කුලබේද සතර වත්ස රජපත්තිය යන මෙකියන දේ සම්පූර්ණව පැවති නෙතීමාලා නම්බු වාද අත්කුසය යන ශාස්ත්‍රවාදය වල්වත්තේ තෙරුන්වහන්සේ විසින් නාගපට්ටනමේ ගතිතාලාකාර කිවිඥයාගෙන් පමුරු පාක්කුඹම් යවා ගෙන්වාසු පොත නිබොරුයි.

The above is the preface.

සිරිසම කුටබාග් කන්ධිමාලේනසුනා  
සිසිර තරතරුපත් ක්‍රිතිසබෙන හිතා  
තරමුක තර හසනා පාද පසෙව වාලම්  
සුමුබහසාරුපත් කන්ධි හරිත්තේත තාලම්

බහුකහිතනව සවසනිකාවෘතසත් තරා  
දරීති ප්‍රාතී කුමනව ගෙමමන විධානවත්  
ස්තකන්දරීනම් බිපොධරෝ තේරීව අත්කුසා  
ශ්‍රියදේවි පූර්ණකුමනව නාරතා අනිතු මංගලම්

There are numerous *ślōkas* and short prose sentences, after which the Sinhalese *Wadankusaratnamālaya*\* begins.

From *Wadankusaratnamālaya* :—

නැගෙනහිරෙන් මහමෙරට පිටත් සැදි ගදඹ විමන අදිපති ව ත්තා  
නැගෙනහිරට පෙර වරංගු බෑතත්තවරං රජ වදිම් ත්තා  
නැගෙනහිරට මුවලා රඟ මඩලට බැස පෙරතුරුවරු දත් පෙ ත්තා  
නැගෙනහිරට ගැසු බෑතත්තනම් සවුදම සබයේ දත්ව ත්තා

\* My copy is from a very old ola manuscript I found almost in pieces, hence there are numerous mistakes.

Here follow three other verses, with *padas* dedicated to the gods of the four cardinal points. Then follow the *tálam* and the *padas*. The names are :—

- |                               |                                |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Sembhatta</i>          | (17) <i>Kuḍátálam</i>          |
| (2) <i>Nanilachi-semhatta</i> | (18) <i>Lakshmitálam</i>       |
| (3) <i>Kariyassa</i>          | (19) <i>Attaraḍitálam</i>      |
| (4) <i>Pancha-kariyassa</i>   | (20) <i>Ottimattatálam</i>     |
| (5) <i>Tuvayam</i>            | (21) <i>Hanumatálam</i>        |
| (6) <i>Mattayam</i>           | (22) <i>Rutakuḍatálam</i>      |
| (7) <i>Rujaga</i>             | (23) <i>Púrnakumbatálam</i>    |
| (8) <i>Jambhaka</i>           | (24) <i>Turuttrayam</i>        |
| (9) <i>Kivudayum</i>          | (25) <i>Kurunasekaratálam</i>  |
| (10) <i>Adanattatálam</i>     | (26) <i>Vasavasankaram</i>     |
| (11) <i>Ekkattálam</i>        | (27) <i>Kondayananchitálam</i> |
| (12) <i>Jampessa</i>          | (28) <i>Sattimagattitálam</i>  |
| (13) <i>Jagat-jampessa</i>    | (29) <i>Rajatálam</i>          |
| (14) <i>Iḍayettutálam</i>     | (30) <i>Talaráyam</i>          |
| (15) <i>Pancha-iḍayettu</i>   | (31) <i>Manitálam</i>          |
| (16) <i>Vamtálam</i>          | (32) <i>Sinhanandatálam</i>    |

I quote the 29th, the “*Raja-tálama*,” with a verse, the tune, and the *pada*.

#### Verse.

විසිතවෙති තාලම මේන	ම
ඉසිවරු පෙර පැවසූ ලෙසි	ම
දනිතොත් මම්බුරෙ නියතොසි	ම
රජතාලම එහි නම බොල	ම

#### Tune.

1 තෙසි, 2 තෙසි, 3 තෙසි, 4 තෙසි, 5 තෙසි, 6 තෙසි, 7 තෙසි,  
8 තෙසි, 9 තෙසි, 10 තෙසි, 11 තෙසි.

#### Pada.

තරිකු, දිරුකුතරි, තකුතරි, දිකුතරි. මසන්තිතෝවර, තකුතරි දිකුතරි, මන්ඩුකකාදන්, රිපුරු විනාසං, සෝඛසමද්දිලි, මකුටවිතෝදං තකුතරි දිකුතරි තෙමි.

Then follow seven verses to the seven (dedicated) days ; the twelve dedicated to the twelve signs of the Zodiac ; the

twenty-seven to the constellations, the seven to the seven astrological *horas*, the fifteen to the fifteen *titis*, &c. The verses have *pada* for dancing or playing on the *bera*.

Then follow the *sawudam*, *aḍavu*, *disti-āwaḍanam*, *sural*, &c.

I quote the *Vyāghra-sawudama* as a specimen :—

*Tune.*

තමිතමිදනත්තදනා-තදනාතනා-තනතදනත් තදනත්තදනා-තදනාතනා.

*Verse.*

සිරිපිරි මහ මෙපිරිස් සැ	දි
සිටි, සමුගෙන මම රහමැද වැ	දි
වයමින් වහ සමුදම බි	දි
බද, තෙරපමි හතුරු බැටදි	දි

*Pada.*

ප්‍රාං ප්‍රාං හරිං හරිං භෞරනාද එන්ඩුවක්ක කක්ක මට්ටුවක්ක පරිභ වාතිවග්‍ර අග්‍රරුද්‍ර මෘගහක්ක හන්දුලෙවරි, බෘමබෘමභක්‍රුචිර, තාතුනාදි, මිත්දිතුතතු-තතුදිතුතිත් ව්‍යක්‍රසමුදත්, තුතුතරි තතුතරිතෙමි.

From *Rājasinḥa Warnanāwa*. The tune is called *Gaman-tāla* :—

*Tune.*

තානතමිදනතමිදනා—තනතමිදන, තනතමිදනානා.

පොත ත් නිලගෙලෙ නැබසර සරන	ත
කොත ත් කාලකර හිමකර කිර	ත
දි ග ත් පාල හැම සුර පහ මෙසුග	ත
දි මු ත් රජසිංහ නරනිඳු රුකදෙ	ත

තාන තනතන, තාන තනතන, තාන තනතමි දුනෙනා  
තනන තනතන, තනන තනතන, තනන තනතමි දුනෙනා

විත ර නොවි නෙකලෙසිති සභොබන පටලි තුබකොඩි පෙ  
නෙති වෙසෙ සේ  
සත ර දිග එක පැතිර ගොසකල වෙහිලි රුසවිය සුසුල සේ  
පත ර නෙක හිරිතුහර සදවුරු බෙදි රුසුරුදු ලිරිග පිරි සේ  
පවි ර රජසිංහ නිරිදු ගුරුලියු තෙදග තුබිතින් ගතිය නොල සේ

## Tunes.

ප්‍රතිකාලෝ ලන්ද ග්‍රහිංකමේ.

1st step : සුගතන් සැබනලොසා, සුගතර සසුරසුණෙර දෙරණ  
තුළ, හිරිසත් එකවර නොහැර ඉදිනතර, වෙරලන  
වැඩගොඩ ගමනක ලෙසිනා.—ප්‍රති, &c.

2nd step : ජයගත් තදනදිනා, ජයතුරු ගහන හිඟුමිලෙසිනා,  
ග්‍රහණතත් රියබලකේරල සැබිදෙමල මලල බල  
සිටිනා දෙරනා.—ප්‍රති, &c.

3rd step : මදකුත් බිස නොගෙනා, වැදජය සිපන රූගෙන  
රූගෙනා, රඹවිමනව වත් මදග්‍රහවරනා සරනසිරි  
ලරන නරන සිද්ධි ඩිද් ජයරූගෙනා.—ප්‍රති, &c.

## VI.

The following are some Sanskrit verses and tunes, from  
*Gīta Gōvinda*, by the celebrated Jayadēva :—

- (1) පුලය පයෝධිපලේඛාන වානසිවේදම්—  
විනිතවනිත වරිත්‍රමබේදං—කේශව  
ධාතමිනකරීර—ජයජගදීසහරෙ, ජයජග දීසහරෙ
- (2) ක්ෂිතීරති විපුලතරේ වෙතිනිතිපෘතේ—  
ධරණී ධරණ කිණ වත්‍රගරිතේ—කේශව  
ධාතත කවර් පරුප—ජයජග දීසහරෙ

The above two, and eight others of the same tune, are  
descriptive of Śrī Viṣṇu's ten *avatāra* incarnations. The  
above have been set to *vinā* music. The tune is thus given :—

සා ස නි ධ ප ද නි ධ ප ම ප ප ග මා රි ස  
ස ස පා ධ නි ධ ප ම ප ම ම ග මා රි සා ම  
පා ග ධා රි රි රි රි රි ස 1  
ප ම ග ම රි ස ම රි ග ම ප ධ නි ධ ප ම  
ප ප ම ග ම ප ම ග සා රි රි රි සා ධ නි  
ධ ප ම ප ප ම ග සා ස සා ම පා ග මා රි රි  
සා නි සා නි ධ ප ම ප ග මා ප මා ග මා රි රි ස නි ස

Another verse from the same source :—

ශ්‍රිතකමලා කුවමණ්ඩල ධාතකුණ්ඩලජ—  
කලිතලලිතවනමාල—ජයජගදේවහරේ—ජයජගදේවහරේ  
දිනමණි මණ්ඩල මණ්ඩන හවඩණ්ඩනජ  
මුනිජනමානස හංස, ජය ජය දේවහරේ—ජයජගදේවහරේ

Yet another :—

ශංඝ හරිමිත විනිතවිලාසං  
සෙරති මනෝවම කාකපරිහාසං—*twice*.  
විපුල පුලකතුප පලුවබලසිත බලුව යුවතිග හසුම්  
කරවරණිරසි මණිගතතුණ කිරණවිනිතාන මිත්‍රං

Below I quote some Sanskrit tunes from *Sangita Parijāta*, a book on ancient Hindú music, by Ako Bala. Some of these tunes are used by Sinhalese singers under the name of *Sattaswara* at the end of the second and fourth lines of songs. They are used mostly with those known as *Muddarappada Sindu* :—

සස රිරි සස—රිරි ගග රිරි  
ගග මම ගග—මම පප මම  
පප බබ පප—බබ නිනි බබ  
නිනි සස නිනි—සස නිනි සස

Another :—

සරි ගම මග රිස සරි ගරි සරි ගම  
රිග මප පම ගරි රිග මග රිග මප  
ගම පබ බප මග ගම පම ගම පබ  
මප බනි බබ පම මප බප මප බනි  
පබ නිස සනි බප පබ නිබ පබ නිස

Another :—

සරි සග සම සප සබ සනි සස  
රිග රිම රිප රිබ රිනි රිස  
ගම ගප ගබ ගනි ගස  
මප මබ මනි මස  
පබ පනි පස  
බනි බස  
නිස

Another :—

ස රි ග ම ප බ නි ස නි බ ප ම ග රි ස  
ස රි ග ම ප බ නි බ ප ම ග රි ස  
ස රි ග ම ප බ ප ම ග රි ස  
ස රි ග ම ප ම ග රි ස  
ස රි ග ම ග රි ස  
ස රි ග රි ස  
ස රි ස

Below I quote one *ślōka* from each of the works *Sūrya Sataka* and *Vṛttamālākhyāna*, composed in Sanskrit, with the object of teaching how to modulate the voice in reciting verses :—

From *Sūrya Sataka* :—

මොළිසෙත්ථාලෙමිසමෝභිද්ද පුත්ත නිමිති වෘත්තාබේකනායා සබ්බකුසල  
ප්‍රත්‍යග්‍රොද භාවිතාමෙතාරොහකුහරස්ස ස්විතත්තේව ධාත්‍යා  
කෘතේන නබ්බාතන කෘතේන නිත්‍යපරිභව තුස්සුතේ වස්සුතොලං  
ත්‍යායෙක ස්‍යාත් තනිතානපි නිමිරිස්සා සත්විතා මුද්ගමොව්‍යා



From *Vrittamálákhya* :—

“Mattebha Wikkrīdita Vritta.”

හවතා කුඤ්ඤ වක්‍රවිසර්ග සංසරිති ප්‍රායසෝ  
 යශසිසිරි සමුද්‍රමන්තම්වයන් ත්‍රේලෝකා මාසිත්තතා  
 කුති කෙලාසගුණිකිරා කුතිරිසා කාසෝශසිතිකිරි  
 ශරජත්මාව තිමාවලා කුජනනිතසුකෙවලිකාමවුචිත්

තිසිතිවිද්‍යායනුනවතතං තදපිමයදිනති වචනවතුරතා  
 වාක්පට්‍රිකාවෙන් නෙවසුබොධො යදිමනනිතපරමවගමයතිසා  
 යදපිවිසරි සාමුකතායං තදපිමයදිනවනිතකුලසබ්බතා  
 නාථයදිනිනෙකතතසත්තේ කිසිපුතරසද්‍යයදිනිකිලමදුනා

## VII.

I feel inclined to refer to *Yādini*, a kind of prose composed according to metre, and to quote one or two specimens. The following, from Mr. James de Alwis's "*Leisure Hours*," is read or sung to the tune of *Sasiri baru me siri Laka* :—

සතරසිදු, එතරහිය, පතරලොව පසිඳුනෙක  
 අමරගුරු, හරසකත, නිතර ඇති මෙසිරිලක

අතනසිය සිරසදුරු මුලින් මල්කඩක් මෙන්  
 නිතින්දිලු ලතාන්ගුන නැතින්සුතු අනෙකවග  
 දනන්ගෙන් සපිරිවර ඉසුරුකුල නිවෙස්ගත්  
 සතර අතසෙන ගෙඩිපුරග හැමසිරිත්සුතු කොලොම්පුර

Another specimen from the same source :—

Tune, *Sasiri bara me siri Laka* ; the same number of letters as in the first tune, but the fourth and the ninth letters are prolated :—

මෙලෙසිනා ඇමතැනා දුල්වුනාවු සදෙහිතොසයෙනා  
 පිනපිනා දනගනා නොලසිනා රුවයෙ නා  
 දිලියෙනා බරනිනා සැරසෙමින් තමතවුන් රිසිවනා  
 වාහනා නැගෙමිනා තැනතැනා වෙසෙසි නා  
 පැමිනෙමින් සිවියකල්වු ලකල් ජිවිසුල් සිරිමගුල් දහ  
 සිනා හුවනිනා දුල්ව නා

There are two old *yādini*, composed by very clever poets, the *Sinhabā Asna* and the *Kuvēni Asna*, relating to Wijayo's conquest, Kuvēni's lamentations, the story of the Panduwas king being possessed by demons, &c.—very interesting traditions. I have mislaid them, and am extremely sorry that I

am therefore unable to quote from them. I have other *yādini*; they refer to stories of demons and mythology. I do not intend to quote from them in this Paper, but shall reserve them for another, which I am now preparing on demonology, mythology, and *bali* ceremony.

## VIII.

The following are specimens of *Viridu*, extemporaneous songs, composed without previous preparation or meditation, on the spur of the moment whilst stepping to the music, and sung off-hand by the singers *Kavikārayó*, who are also (most of them) extemporizers, (*Viridukārayó*):—

By a singer named Kēkirigodayá to Saibu Malawará :—

මු ට මුගේ මෝ බබගැබ්බරයෙන් සිවිකල පොර	නේ
ඇට කෑම හිඟවී වතුචල වැඩකර රුකු	නේ
ඇට එසින් දෙමලකිම විකවික ඇබ්බැසි මු	නේ
මු ට සයිමු කියන දෙමලනම එහිසයි වැටු	නේ

The retort by Saibu :—

මු ට උගේ මෝ බබගැබ්බරයෙන් සිවිකල පොර	නේ
ඇට කන්ඩසිහි කැකිරි හොරකමෙ හිය සඳි	නේ
කාට ද අසුවී ගුවි ඇන අකලට වැදු බැව්	නේ
මු ට කැකිරිගොඩය නම එහිසයි හාමුදුරුව	නේ

## IX.

The musical instruments that I have been able to get the names of are the following :—

- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 <i>Tála bera</i>    | 12 <i>Mihingu bera</i>  |
| 2 <i>Pata bera</i>    | 13 <i>Dekki</i>         |
| 3 <i>Teka bera</i>    | 14 <i>Uḍekki</i>        |
| 4 <i>Rawdra bera</i>  | 15 <i>Alingha bera</i>  |
| 5 <i>Yudradu bera</i> | 16 <i>Uddhaka bera</i>  |
| 6 <i>Perun bera</i>   | 17 <i>Tinawa bera</i>   |
| 7 <i>Dedru bera</i>   | 18 <i>Paná bera</i>     |
| 8 <i>Ghosa bera</i>   | 19 <i>Dendima bera</i>  |
| 9 <i>Pokuru bera</i>  | 20 <i>Dundubhi bera</i> |
| 10 <i>Ekēs bera</i>   | 21 <i>Maddala bera</i>  |
| 11 <i>Kana bera</i>   | 22 <i>Mutinga bera</i>  |

23 <i>Muraja bera</i>	49 <i>Mahá kulal</i>
24 <i>Aukhya bera</i>	50 <i>Dirga kulal</i>
25 <i>Tanmetta</i>	51 <i>Maha sak</i>
26 <i>Mini bera</i>	52 <i>Mahá horané</i>
27 <i>Víná</i>	53 <i>Dirga horané</i>
28 <i>Mahá víná with two gourds</i>	54 <i>Mahá kahala</i>
29 <i>Trin-tat-swara víná</i>	55 <i>Sabda kahala</i>
30 <i>Pancha-tat-swara víná</i>	56 <i>Sak sinnan</i>
31 <i>Sapta-tat-swara víná</i>	57 <i>Nága sinnan</i>
32 <i>Dwa-trim-tat-swara víná</i>	58 <i>Mahá nágasinnan</i>
33 <i>Trio-dara-tat-swara víná</i>	59 <i>Tunpaṭa nágasinnan</i>
34 <i>Eka-vinsati-tat-swara víná</i>	60 <i>Satpoṭa nágasinnan</i>
35 <i>Nalá</i>	61 <i>Tála</i>
36 <i>Horané</i>	62 <i>Tali</i>
37 <i>Wasdandū</i>	63 <i>Tálan manda</i>
38 <i>Kombu</i>	64 <i>Irisula tálanmunda</i>
39 <i>Kulal</i>	65 <i>Mahatali</i>
40 <i>Sak</i>	66 <i>Mini</i>
41 <i>Kahala</i>	67 <i>Maha mini</i>
42 <i>Sak sinnan</i>	68 <i>Golu mini</i>
43 <i>Nága sinnan</i>	69 <i>Kinkini or kikini</i>
44 <i>Mahá nalá</i>	70 <i>Rahu</i>
45 <i>Dirga nalá</i>	71 <i>Mini chakra</i>
46 <i>Mahá wasdandū</i>	72 <i>At-gigiri</i>
47 <i>Dirga wasdandū</i>	73 <i>Pá-gigiri</i>
48 <i>Mahá kombu</i>	74 <i>Aṅgula-gigiri</i>
	75 <i>Mini-gigiri</i>

The first twenty-six are varieties of *beri* or drums—known in Ceylon as *bera*, *dawul*, *tammeṭṭa*, and *dekki*.

The next eight are varieties of lutes of the guitar kind, with one or two gourds at the ends of the finger board, and are of several varieties, enumerated according to the number of strings and the octaves. This instrument is said to have been invented by Narada Irshi, the son of Brahma.

The next twenty-six are varieties of *nalá*, and belong to the class designated as wind instruments, in contradistinction to stringed instruments. These are known as *túrya*.

The next five are varieties of musical cymbals used for beating time in music.

The next five are varieties of *mini* or bells.

The final five are hollow bell-metal bangles with small balls of bell-metal put in to cause a sound when vibrated. These are called *gigiri*, from, I believe, *gir*, to sound.

The above are all the instruments I have been able to hear of. At present only the *bera*, *dekki*, *nalá*, *horané*, *sak*, *tálan-pola*, *taliya*, *rahu-gigiri*, the *mini-nalá*, two kinds of *viná*, and two *nágasinnamas* are in use.

## X.

The melody of the *tálas* lies in the proper distribution of the sounds and the harmony of the words combined to form a *tála* : as also the proper arrangement, according to the rules, of the accents, the measures, the pause, and the cadence.

A sound is called a *mata*, a moment or instant. A short sound or one instant is called a *lagu* ; a long sound or two instants is called a *guru*. *Lagu* means short or light and *guru* heavy or long. The “ instant,” or letter immediately preceding a *hal* or silent letter is also a *guru*. A *hal* letter is equal to half an “ instant.” An “ instant ” is the time taken in the twinkling of the eye. *Mata* means an instant.

Short sounds or *lugu* or *lagu* are marked thus, — and the long sounds or *guru* thus, ˘. Letters have long and short sounds indicated by symbols which indicate their quantity. A *puluta*, marked thus, ≡, consists of three instants. Three of these sounds or instants produce a *gaṇe*, which means a foot. There are eight *gana*.

*Vṛitta* means metre ; *tála*, musical time or measure ; *mátraya* means quantity in metre, a syllabic foot, or a phonetic addition of words, *wannan* means a time, from *vana*, a sound ; *chandas* means poetical metre, or the system of the arrangement of poetical metre, or the rules for the arrangement of poetical metres.

The letters are divided into eight classes, according to the places from where the sounds are created. They are gutturals, palatals, linguals, dentals, labials, gutturo-palatals, gutturo-labials, and dento-labials. A correct knowledge of all the above has to be acquired for correct singing.

The sound of the gutturals originates in the throat ; palatals in the palate ; linguals in the middle palate ; dentals in the teeth ; labials in the lips ; gutturo-palatals in the throat and palate ; gutturo-labials in the throat and lips ; dento-labials in the teeth and lips.

The following are the *gana*, eight in number. I quote from the work of Bhadra Thero.

They are the *Mahí-gana*, *Déwa-gana*, *Chandra-gana*, *Ravi-gana*, *Wáyu-gana*, *Jala-gana*, *Agni-gana*, and *Ákása-gana*.

1. *Magana* or *Mahí-gana* (molossus), meaning the earth, has three *guru*, thus :  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \underline{\text{ස}} \underline{\text{ස}}.$

2. *Nagana* or *Déwa-gana* (tribrach), meaning godly, has three *lagu*, thus :  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \underline{\text{ස}}.$

3. *Bagana* or *Chandra-gana* (dactyl), meaning moon, begins with a *guru* and has two *lagu* at the end, thus :  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \underline{\text{ස}} \underline{\text{ඳ}}.$

4. *Jagana* or *Ravi-gana* (amphibrach), meaning a sun, begins with a *lagu* and ends with a *lagu*, and there is a *guru* in the middle, thus :  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \underline{\text{ස}} \underline{\text{ඳ}}.$

5. *Sagana* or *Wáyu-gana* (anapæst), meaning air, has two *lagu* for the first and second “instants” and a *guru* for the third, thus :  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \underline{\text{ස}}.$

6. *Yagana* or *Jala-gana* (bachic), meaning water, begins with a *lagu* and ends with two *guru*, thus :  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \underline{\text{ස}} \underline{\text{ඳ}}.$

7. *Ragana* or *Agni-gana* (cretic), meaning fire, begins and ends with a *guru* at each end, and has a *lagu* in the middle, thus :  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \underline{\text{ස}} \underline{\text{ඳ}}.$

8. *Thagana* or *Ákása-gana* (antibachic), meaning sky, is formed of two *guru* for the first and second instants and ends with a *lagu*, thus :  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \underline{\text{ස}} \underline{\text{ඳ}}.$

The 1st has 3 long sounds in this order,  $\overset{1}{\underline{\text{ම}}} \overset{2}{\underline{\text{ඳ}}} \overset{3}{\underline{\text{ස}}}$  instants.

The 2nd has 3 short sounds in this order, — — —

The 3rd has 1 long and 2 short sounds in this order,  $\underline{\text{ම}} \text{—} \text{—}$

The 4th has 2 short and 1 long sound in this order,  $\text{—} \underline{\text{ම}} \text{—}$

The 5th has 2 short and 1 long sound in this order,  $\text{—} \text{—} \underline{\text{ම}}$

The 6th has 2 long and 1 short sound in this order,  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \text{—}$

The 7th has 2 long and 1 short sound in this order,  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \text{—}$

The 8th has 2 long and 1 short sound in this order,  $\underline{\text{ම}} \underline{\text{ඳ}} \text{—}$

There are 14 *vrittās*, namely :—

(1) *Gī*, (2) *Piumgī*, (3) *Matwalagī*, (4) *Umatugī*, (5) *Kaugī*, (6) *Bamaragī*, (7) *Yagī*, (8) *Dunnagagī*, (9) *Yongī*, (10) *Karika*, (11) *Wamatatohalgī*, (12) *Sandrastaka*, (13) *Nātakagī* (14) *Sasupulatagī*.

A *gī* has 42 instants.

A *piumgī* has 41 instants.

A *matwalagī* has 37 instants.

An *umatugī* has 38 instants.

A *kaugī* has 40 instants.

A *bamaragī* has 42 instants.

A *yagī* has 42 instants.

A *dunnagagī* has 44 instants.

A *yongī* has 40 instants.

A *karikagī* has 41 instants.

A *dakunutohalgī* has 41 instants.

A *sandrastaka* has 42 instants.

A *wamatatohalgī* has 41 instants.

There are 14 *chandas*, namely, *Sanda-siri*, *Medum*, *Pihiti*, *Supihiti*, *Utu*, *Sel*, *Gaja*, *Rendi*, *Raulu*, *Tenet*, *Hiru*, *Mi*, and *Madu*. Each has a given number of *vrittās*, and these by spreading the rythm may be increased to any number of tunes or *tala*. Those given in the *chandas* by Bhadra run up to thousands. Apart from those coming under the above rules there are other *vṛitta* for the formation of which special rules are provided. It is impossible to give a correct idea of these, nay even of the *chandas*, in a short Paper such as this purports to be.

The *Panchatūriya Nāda*, or the fivefold kinds of music—the origin of all music and musical instruments—is the *Atana*, *Vitana*, *Ghaṇaya*, *Ṣeṣhiraya*, *Mrija*, *Vina*, six in number.

*Atata* means to spread, or *atanka*, sound of a drum or tabor; *vitata*, stringed instrument; *ghana*, a cymbal, a bell, a brazen or composite metallic musical instrument which is struck as a clock, or a mode of dancing neither quick nor slow *seṣhira*, a wind instrument; *vina*, a lute.

It is said in mythological books as well as in *tāla-pot* that the *Gāndharvas* introduced music to the world, and that Nārada Muni, a son of Brahma, made the first musical instrument. the *vinā*. *Gāndharva* means a heavenly chorister, as well as singing, and Gandara one of the seven primary notes of music. *Pancha Sika* is said to be the chief of the band of those merry celestial musicians who inhabit (with others, of course) the lowest of the six *divyalōka* (heavens), by name the *Chāturmahārājikā divyalōka*.

The image of *Pancha Sika* is to be seen in some of the *vihāra* armed with a *vinā* and attended by his hosts of musicians, each carrying a musical instrument different from the others. The *Marugano*, the daughters of the *Māradivya-putta*, are said to be the cleverest of the celestial musicians, so much so that as a last resort their father sent them to prevent *Sākya-Munī* from attaining Buddhahood at the foot of the sacred Bóddhi, by winning him over by an exhibition of their irresistibly enchanting dancing and singing.

## APPENDIX

*Music*.—"The science and the art of tones or musical sounds, i.e., sounds of higher or lower pitch, begotten of uniform and synchronous vibrations, as of a string at various degrees of tension; the science of harmonical tones which treats of the principles of harmony, or the properties, dependencies, and relations of tones to each other; the art of combining tones in a manner to please the ear. Not all sounds are tones. Sounds may be unmusical and yet please the ear. Music deals with tones, and with no other sounds."

Music is also (a) "melody; a rhythmical and otherwise agreeable succession of tones. (b) Harmony; an accordant combination of simultaneous tones."

*Tone*.—"The sound, or the character of a sound, or a sound considered of this or that character; as a low, high, loud, grave, acute, sweet, or harsh tone. A stretching, straining, raising of the voice, pitch, accent, measure, or meter."

*Accent*.—"Inflection or modulation of the voice as adapted to express emotion or passion. A sound considered as to pitch," &c.

*Tune*.—"A rhythmical, melodious, symmetrical series of tones for one voice or instrument, or for any number of voices or instruments in unison, or two or more of such series forming part

in harmony ; a melody ; an air ; the state of giving the proper sound or sounds ; just intonation ; harmonious accordance : pitch of voice or instrument."

*Rhythm.*—"Dividing into short portions by a regular succession of motions, impulses, sounds, accents, &c., producing an agreeable effect ; movement in musical time with periodical recurrence of accent ; the measured beat or pulse which marks the character and expression of the music ; symmetry of movement and accent. The harmonious flow of vocal sounds."

*Melody.*—"A rhythmical succession of single tones ranging for the most part within a given key, and so related together as to form a musical whole, having the unity of what is technically called a musical thought, at once pleasing to the ear and characteristic in expression. Melody consists in a succession of single tones ; harmony is a consonance or agreement of tones, also a succession of consonant musical combinations or chords."

*Meter.*—"Rhythmical arrangement of syllables or words into verses, stanzas, strophes, &c. ; poetical measure, depending on number, quantity, and accent of syllables ; also any specific rhythmical arrangement."

*Common meter.*—"Four iambic verses or lines making a stanza, the first and third each having four feet, and the second and the fourth each three feet."

*Long meter.*—"Iambic verses or lines of four feet each, four verses usually making a stanza."

*Short meter.*—"Iambic verses or lines, the first, second, and fourth having each three feet, and the third four feet. The stanza usually consists of four lines, but is sometimes doubled."

*Step.*—"The interval between two contiguous degrees of the scale. The word 'tone' is often used as the name of this interval ; but there is evident incongruity in using 'tone' for indicating the interval between tones. As the word 'scale' is derived from the Italian *scala*, a ladder, the intervals may well be called steps."

*Air.*—"A musical idea or motive, rhythmically developed in consecutive single tones, so as to form a symmetrical and balanced whole, which may be sung by a single voice to the stanzas of a hymn or song, or even to plain prose, or played upon an instrument ; a melody ; a line ; an aria."

*Foot, Feet.*—"Combination of syllables constituting a metrical element of a verse, the syllables being formerly distinguished by their quantity or length, but in modern poetry by their accent."

*Accent.*—"A regularly recurring stress upon the tone to mark the beginning, and, more feebly, the third part of the measure ; a special emphasis of a tone, even in the weaker part of the measure ; the rhythmical accent, which marks phrases and sections of a period. The expressive emphasis and shading of a passage."

*Measure.*—"Regulated division of movement ; a regulated movement corresponding to the time in which the accompanying music is performed ; but, especially, a slow and stately dance. The group or grouping of beats caused by the regular recurrence of accented beats ; the space between two bars ; the manner of



ordering and combining the quantities, or long and short syllables; meter ; rhythm ; hence, a foot ; as, a poem in iambic verse."

*Inflection*.—"Modulation, or accent of the voice, as the rising and the falling inflection. Any change or modification in the pitch or tone of the voice. A departure from the monotone or reciting tone in chanting."

*Iambic*.—"Consisting of a short syllable followed by a long one, or of an unaccented syllable followed by an accented ; as, an iambic foot. A foot consisting of a short syllable followed by a long one, as in *amans*, or of an unaccented syllable followed by an accented one, as *invent*."

*Cadence*.—"A fall of the voice in reading or speaking, especially at the end of the sentence ; a rhythmical modulation of the voice or of any sound ; rhythmical flow of language, in prose or verse ; harmony and proportion in motion, as of a well-managed horse ; the close or fall of a strain ; the point of rest, commonly reached by the immediate succession of the tonic to the dominant chord ; a cadenza or closing embellishment ; a pause before the end of the strain, which the performer may fill with a flight of fancy."—WEBSTER.

## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, November 24, 1908.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Vice-President.

Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Ven. F. H. de Winton.

Mr. A. M. Hamid.

Mr. C. W. Horsfall.

Mr. A. Lewis.

Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed.

Mr. P. E. Morgappah.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

### *Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on July 11, 1908.

2. Mr. Joseph announced the election of the following Members since the last General Meeting :—Messrs. E. C. Anderson ; J. L. Tancock ; G. E. Madawela, Proctor ; J. Conroy, B.A., C.C.S. ; T. H. Chapman, A.M.I.C.E. ; Dr. W. C. Pieris, M.B., C.M. ; Messrs. C. R. Arasaratnam ; E. W. Jayewardene, Barrister-at-Law ; Dr. E. Roberts, F.F.P.S., M.R.C.S. ; Messrs. T. G. Jayewardene, A.M.I.M.E. ; B. Constantine, B.A., C.C.S. ; Rev. W. J. Noble ; Messrs. F. A. Obeyesekere, M.A., Barrister-at-Law ; and A. M. Hamid.

3. Mr. A. Lewis read the following Paper :—

## THE LESSER KNOWN HILLS OF THE BATTICALOA DISTRICT AND LOWER UVA.

By F. LEWIS, F.L.S.

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IN the early part of the year 1907 I had occasion to visit some of the little known hills of the Panama Pattu in the Batticaloa District, connected with a survey I then had on hand. It was also necessary in the same connection to ascend Govinda-hela ("Westminster Abbey") as well as Deyigal-hela—two mountains within the Province of Úva, but close to the Eastern Province boundary.

In the course of my work I had a very favourable opportunity for making a tolerably close scrutiny of the flora of the locality traversed, beside noting such items of archæological interest as came in my way, though the time at my disposal did not admit of more than superficial observation of the latter. In the hope that my notes may be of interest to the Royal Asiatic Society, I venture to submit this Paper, conscious as I am of its many imperfections, but trusting that it may lead to further investigation of the highly interesting country that I traversed.

I left Koslanda for a place called Siyambalá-anduwa on March 2, and reached the latter spot on the 5th, using the Public Works Department bungalow as a starting point for the work I had in hand.

Siyambalá-anduwa is a small village, with a few poorly-constructed houses, situated on the eastern bank of the Heḍa-oya, and to the south of a high rocky mass known as Deyigal-hela, on which is an important trigonometrical station.

From Siyambalá-anduwa I proceeded north to Kananketṭiya village, and from thence to a desolate spot called Bó-ella, that lies to the north-west of "Westminster Abbey," and situated

at the foot of that mountain. Here the population is exceedingly sparse, and the only form of culture is of the sporadic chena order, as gardens can be hardly said to exist in this remote corner of the *Mahá Vēdirāta*, or "great Vēddā country."

It is surprising to find that what population there is consists of pure Sinhalese, and it is more remarkable that the people here allege that the real Vēddā does not exist in the neighbourhood. The only information I could obtain respecting this vastly interesting race was, that they once existed here, and I was shown a path leading through a valley that was said at one time to be defended by Vēddās, who would permit nobody outside their own community to pass without paying toll in betel leaves or the flesh of animals, such as deer or wild pig. The Kórāla, an old man of about seventy years of age, informed me that at Daranigala Vēddās existed in his time; and his description of them approximated that of the received character as given by Knox and the Portuguese writers. His story, however, was not free from romantic colouring; for example, he said that the "*Vēddā Nuwara*" was situated within a mass of rock-bound mountains that could not be climbed, and that the only means of approach was through a tortuous cavern, the mouth of which was guarded by a large waterfall. Once within the rock-formed walls the "city" was said to be large, and the more well-to-do people therein owned, and actually rode, horses! It is, I think, needless to comment on this fantastic mixture of geographical inaccuracy and improbability.

I may add, however, that my informant made the remarkable statement that the *real* Vēddā never laughs, and that it would be fatal for a stranger to do so—a statement in support of Mr. Stephens' remarkable Paper delivered before this Society several years ago, and which at the time was received with some incredulity.

No trace of any kind did I find of Vēddā occupation, and in the language of the people I could detect no words that led one to suspect interpolation of language. In the names of places, or of plants, I heard only Sinhalese, unless indeed the name "*Govinda-hela*" can be taken as an incomplete exception,

the latter part of the name being Siṅhalese while the former is Dravidian. My desire to find traces of the true Vēḍḍā was everywhere met with failure, and much more so my efforts to find a single trace of their later occupation of the country.

### 1.—*Govinda-hela*.

Govinda-hela, or, as it is better known to the European by its modern appellation of “Westminster Abbey,” consists of a high mass of gneissic rock, standing on the northern extremity of a moderately high ridge, affording an excellent resemblance to the venerable pile from which it takes its present fancy name. The “chimney,” or “tower,” rises about 800 feet above the “roof” of the “Abbey,” thus completing the likeness, especially when viewed from the sea. This “chimney” stands clear of anything else, its nearest mountain being Waddina-hela to the northward, and the already mentioned Deyigal-hela to the south.

The distance between the two points is nearly equal—about five miles in a straight line—while the summits of the three mountains are nearly in the same line of inclination, Waddina-hela being the highest. The altitude of “Westminster Abbey” is 1,830 feet, and between it and the sea—a distance of nearly twenty miles—there are no hills of any particular magnitude or altitude, so that from the standpoint of an outpost this mountain occupied an important position, and one that led to its adoption as a stronghold, as is duly narrated in the *Mahāwamsa*.\*

In places the “tower” or “chimney” of “Westminster Abbey” overhangs its base, but there are crevices that connect with the top, these being more or less lodgments for plants. Where the rock overhangs, the under-surface affords ample space for bees to congregate, but at the time

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\* I am indebted to Mr. Still for the following quotation from the *Mahāwamsa* (chap. LXXXI., vv. 5, 6) relating to this mountain. “Bhuvaneka Báhu, the ruler and governor of the land, whose fame had spread abroad throughout the country, also built himself a fortress on the top of the Govinda, a rock which the enemy could not easily approach, and he dwelt there and defended the Rohuna country and its religion and its priesthood.”

of my visit I was fortunate enough to escape making their closer acquaintance. In order to reach the summit, ladders are required, but the climb is not very formidable. Nowhere did I find any signs of a stream of water, while at the base of the entire mountain I only discovered a dry channel that probably floods during the rains; in fact the extreme scarcity of water evidently led to the early abandonment of this old fortification.

The summit of the "chimney" is nearly flat, and probably about four acres in extent, a great proportion of which is exposed rock, broken by patches of stunted vegetation. On reaching the top of the rock from its southward extremity one finds at once the remains of tanks, the first of which is a small stone *pokuna* cut out of the living rock, and still partially filled with green, slimy water.

Next to this is a second *pokuna*, partially natural and supplemented on its western flank with stonework terminating in a brick walling. This reservoir appears once to have been roofed in, as a number of narrow, thin, flat tiles indicate that such had been the case.

The size is however comparatively small, though the workmanship points to its having been of importance. To the north-west of this last-mentioned "tank" is a third, and by far the largest of them. It consists of a large mass of stonework erected bundwise at the lower extremity of a natural hollow, or valley, between the rocks, in order to dam up the rain water. The stonework is in good preservation and consists of cut stone blocks, bound together and set in a semi-circular outline. The stone has in one place been supplemented by blocks of lime concrete, each individual piece being laid with great precision. These blocks measured about 2 ft. 6 in. by 20 in. by 10 in., but were not of uniform size. The area of this tank was considerable, as compared with the confined limits within which it was placed, and probably it was intended to afford the entire water supply of the "station."

Beyond this tank there are abundant remains of brickwork scattered in all directions, but my time being very limited I was unable to discover the nature or dimension of the building that once occupied the cap of Govinda-hela. I found no sign of

letters cut on any part of the rock, nor did I find any images of any sort.

With regard to the flora of this exceedingly interesting mountain, one is met with a complex problem to account for many of the species, but I venture, with the utmost respect to those scientific botanists who hold that many plants are introduced by birds, either carrying seed in their digestive organs or even in mud attached to their feet, that such explanation is not fully supported, and that a more natural process of introduction is possibly admissible.

It is not denied that birds do carry seed in their intestines, and so do certain mammalia, but I do not think sufficient importance is attached to the natural spread of plants by the ordinary process of growing, fruiting, and seeding. Time is no factor in the issue, except in so far as it affords opportunity for environmental variation to develop into an ultimately widely divergent form from primary forms, sufficient, after a lapse of ages, to render these surviving forms to be even specifically different. This difference, in the case of species, spreading under conditions of great climatic variation, can readily lead to wide deviation from the aboriginal parent, and hence, I submit, that by an accumulation of adaptations to surroundings, they do, by the laws of natural selection, establish an ultimately modified form, strictly in equilibrium with ultimate surroundings. The process is possibly exceedingly slow, but is in no way bound by the factor of time. Moreover, I venture to believe that sufficient importance is not attached to the effects of human agency in the introduction of plants of utilitarian or æsthetic value.

Thus, on the summit of "Westminster Abbey," one finds the ordinary pineapple in a most degenerated form, close to that rare composite the *Notonia*. The presence of a begonia in close proximity to *Mimusops elengai*, amid an abundance of *Melastomaceous* plants, can readily be explained, as a combination of artificial introductions intermixed with those naturally introduced.

The presence of a large *kina* (*Calophyllum tomentosum*), so out of place in the dry zone, is striking, but I found that in each instance that I encountered it, it was in the immediate

neighbourhood of caves that at one time—as was abundantly plain—were inhabited.

The occupants of these caves, possibly Buddhist monks, were constrained to adopt a strict economy as regards water, with the result that cleanliness of person was *not* next to godliness.

A very natural outcome of this state of affairs was, that these cave-dwellers suffered torments with cutaneous diseases, for which the oil expressed from the seeds of the *kina* was found to be a ready and valuable specific, and thus accounting for the presence of this otherwise fish-out-of-water tree. Here, therefore, the pineapple and the kina tree are both accounted for, and as the evidence of constructive genius is amply displayed in the ruins on “Westminster Abbey,” it is not, I think, unreasonable to suppose that the begonia was introduced out of regard for its natural beauty, just as much as the *mimusops* for its value as a building timber.

I append to this Paper a catalogue of the plants I observed above 1,000 feet altitude on the “Westminster Abbey” mountain, and I take the opportunity of expressing my warmest obligations to Mr. J. K. Noek of the Hakgala gardens for his valuable assistance in determining for me both ferns and orchids, that we collected at the time.

I noticed, with some surprise, that the birds found on and round the summit of “Westminster Abbey” were singularly few in point of species as well as individual numbers; thus, the list consisted of a hawk (*Accipiter virgatus*), a fly-catcher (*Hypothymis ceylonensis*), a “sun-bird” (*Dicaeum erythrorhynchus*), two bulbuls (*Hypsipetes ganeesa* and *Molpastes haemorrhous*), a drongo (*Dissemurus paradiseus*), two barbets (*Megalæma Zeylanica* and *Xantholæma rubricapilla*), and a swallow (*Hirundo hyperythra*).

Of course this number became enormously increased as we reached the base of the hill, but it is significant that so few manifested themselves, especially at this particular time of the year.

## 2.—Deyigal-hela.

Passing from “Westminster Abbey” to Deyigal-hela one traverses a country populated with typically dry-zone plants. The stream beds that I crossed were, with hardly an exception,

dry, and where there was any water it existed only in very limited pools of greater or less degree of turbidity.

Numbers of old rainfall tanks abound, but none of appreciable size, while all were in a state of abandonment, the present population being too small and too indifferent to restore to use these silent witnesses of a former age of agricultural activity.

Like the last mentioned mountain, Deyigal-hela indicates former occupation. The summit of this abrupt mass of rock has quantities of brick scattered over it in all directions, but at present in their ruined condition indicating no definite outline or plan. Here, too, water cannot be procured in fine weather without descending for a considerable distance into the valley below. The climb to the summit is laborious, owing to steepness and rock obstruction; thus, in one place, one has to scramble through a very small cavernous opening between two rocks before mounting the final slope.

A large gallery-like cave forms the final finish of the hill, on the top of which a double cap of rocks affords a roof. In front of and below this open cave is a grove of *kinas*, unlike any other Ceylon species of *Calophyllum*, and yielding rather large oily nuts. The chief distinction in this species is in the remarkable development of the bark, which forms into large nodular masses or "bosses" of several inches in thickness. A group of bamboos, much like the common "baṭalī" of the wet zone, is also remarkable in so dry a place, but was I think unquestionably introduced.

The mountain top is exposed to dry winds and continued periods of drought, so that the plant life is naturally stunted. The base of the hill is exceedingly rough, and affords shelter to bears among the fallen stone *débris*. I was informed that in early days this was a Veddā stronghold, but not a trace is to be found to-day of houses or dwellings, except, as already mentioned, at the summit, where brickwork points to cultured methods that cannot be associated with the acknowledged style of Veddā life.

### 3.—*Nil-gala*.

The next mountain of importance that I visited was Nil-gala. This is a rocky point rising rather abruptly from the plains,



and is situated to the south of Lahu-gala, and nearly west of Potuvil and Arugam bay.

The plain at the base is considerably broken by masses of stone in large slabs. At one of these I found an ancient stone quarry, there being several monoliths of stone left, just as they had been wedged from the parent rock.

I also found traces of large holes cut into the slab, probably for posts of wood to be inserted to carry a roof, as the whole outline was regular, and suggestive of this purpose.

Close to the summit was a *pokuna*, partially artificial in form, and so constructed as to catch rain water. A second mass of rock forming a lower terrace is flanked on one side with a wall of Cyclopean stones that now affords an excellent promenade for red monkeys.

The top of Nil-gala is also abundantly strewn with bricks, in a more or less overgrown condition. Here, an ornamental hibiscus affords a striking feature among somewhat stunted vegetation, as well as room for speculation as to its introduction, especially when one considers the abundance of the same plant among the ruins on the summit of Bandára-malai, overlooking Mahá Sen's great tank at Kantalai, that lies a good 120 miles to the north of this lonely but once occupied mountain. The uneven nature of the present vegetation at the base of Nil-gala points unquestionably to its once-peopled state, though to-day it is silent and alone. The stonework only must have engaged the strenuous labour of a considerable multitude that unquestionably populated the country right down to the coast line on the east and south, of which now the only evidence we have is in these interesting remains.

Passing down the line which divides Úva from the Eastern Province, one crosses several ruined tanks that are now grown up in forest. After continuing this journey for nearly five miles the line will be found to enter into a country much broken up by great masses of rock. These rise to no great altitude, but break the uniformity of the plain that one traverses.

#### 4.—*Námaḷuwa-hela.*

Presently, after crossing several "hog's-backs" of rock one finds to the right of the line (west) a number of circular cut

stones not unlike a cottage-loaf of bread each, the summit of which has excavated in it a socket of about 5 in. by 5 in. by 4½ in. to 6 in. deep. These stones are more or less arranged in polygonal order, on a large mound of earth. Some are rectangular in position, and others again of irregular outline. Close to these stones is the usual abundance of brickwork, the individual components of which are remarkably large, some of the bricks being fully 15 in. long by 8 in. by 3 in. Close to this spot an opening in the bush indicates the presence of rock ; there one finds a few solid stone steps rising from a plainly cut moonstone. The steps are next traced to a huge mass of rock, where they are cut out of the living stone itself, and form a total number of 154. At one point, where the rock flattens, there is a *pokuna*, on the side of which is an inscription, that is weathered to a very serious extent. Near this again is a ruin of probably a viháre and dágoba with scattered remains of large cut-stone slabs, and also some curious stone cuttings that I think may have been connected with devotional operations. The summit of this mass of rock, which is locally known as Námaļuwa-hela, is crowned with the remains of a dágoba, of which at present only a mass of brickwork survives. The bricks as usual were large, and of excellent composition. Among them I found a piece of carved stone that, from its shape, suggested the lid of an urn that may possibly have received the ashes of some forgotten prelate.

To the north, at some distance from the base of Námaļuwa-hela, I found the remains of a very large brick-built dágoba, with, to one side, a long and well-shaped flower offertory of stone. The dágoba I estimate to have been 80 ft. high, but it is at present completely within the grip of forest vegetation. Close to this again I found a *kina*, as well as a number of *ná* (ironwood) trees, pointing clearly to their human introduction.

To the south and west of the hill just described flows the Heda-oja, the waters of which in olden days were diverted for irrigation purposes, notably near Labugala, where the traces of the *amuna* (dam) are still to be found, as well as the *Yóda-ela* that supplied a system of tanks to the eastward.

5.—*Hibbitalana-gala*.

The next mountain that I visited the summit of was Hibbitalana-gala. This point is about one mile due west of the provincial boundary, and can only be approached from Panama—a sea-coast village about twelve miles to the south of Arugam bay—from which there is a thin trail-path going towards Úva.

Hibbitalana-gala consists of a mighty rock, rising at a moderate angle with its base, to an altitude of probably 800 ft. above the sea. Like all the other points I visited, it shows abundant traces of occupation. Near its base is the ruin of a shrine, while higher up the traces of brickwork in abundance indicate viháres and dágobas, all of which to-day are in ruinous confusion. The foot of the rock stands practically in a wide belt of magnificent ironwood trees, pointing unmistakably to their origin. I also obtained an example of a most exquisitely beautiful *sterculia*, the juices of which are said to be of great value in healing cuts and wounds.

6.—*Kuḍimbiya-gala*.

Proceeding further south to Okanda, where there is a modern dévalé, I next ascended Kuḍimbiya-gala, which is a mass of rock among rocks facing the sea on the east and south. Here a crumbling dágoba crowns the apex of stone, up the slope of which a few steps have been cut and *pokunas* conserved. The country here is very dry and vegetation is—where exposed—proportionately stunted. Traces are not wanting, however, of a once abundant population, as is evidenced not only by this *pokuna*-cut rock, but by the remains of cave dwellings both there and throughout the country to the banks of the Kumbukkan river that forms the southward limit of the Batticaloa District. At Bagare-gala—an enormous table-like rock—and at Kiripokuna-gala I found the same patient system of preserving the rain water supply, both with natural as well as artificial stone cisterns. The plains below are dotted with long since abandoned tanks, while the rapids in the Kumbukkan-ár to this day indicate the spots where water was taken both on the north as well as the south banks of that perennial stream for

irrigation purposes. The evidence of a once swarming population is abundant, and both hill top and river bed alike point to an early history of profound interest to students of archæology and biology alike.

I am painfully conscious of the extreme imperfection of this brief outline, but I trust in submitting it to the Society that, with their usual generosity, they will make due allowance for the limited opportunities I have of compiling a detailed account of so large an extent of country as I have dealt with ; while, on the other hand, I earnestly trust it may stimulate others to investigate the various questions I have done no more here than to imperfectly hint at.

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## APPENDIX.

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### List of Plants noted on " Westminster Abbey," from 1,000 feet altitude and upwards.\*

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1. *Garcinia spicata*.—A dry-zone plant. Also from South India.
2. *Blumea lacera*.—A common composite. Tropical Asia and Africa.
3. *Sapium insigne*.—Dry zone tree : has a false resemblance in stem to satinwood. Bengal and Burma.
4. *Modecca palmata*.—A poisonous dry-zone plant. Of value in native medicine. Indian sp.
5. *Hibiscus ficulneus*.—Handsome ornamental flowers. Abundant near Kantalai, below ruins on Bandára-malai ; also at " Westminster Abbey." Indian sp.
6. *H. micranthus*.—Common in dry zone. India, Arabia, Africa.
7. *Ficus Arnottiana*.—In rocks in the dry zone ; fairly common. A South Indian form.
8. *F. Thwaitesii*.—A common form. *Endemic*.
9. *F. Mooniana*.—Moderately common. *Endemic*.
10. *Mamecydon grande*.—Abundant. Also India and Malaya.
11. *M. capitellatum*.—Plentiful. A favourite wood for katty handles and sticks. *Doubtfully endemic*.

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\* The numbers follow the order of observation and not of any systematic arrangement.

12. *Webera corymbosa*.—An abundant plant in the dry zone. Wood used for rice granaries. India and Malaya.
13. *Ostbeckia aspera*, var. *Kleinii*.—A common dry zone plant, abundant in rocky ground. Flowers rather handsome.
14. *Vicoa auriculata*.—Common dry-zone composite. Also India.
15. *Anaphalis oblonga*.—A *patana* composite. Also India.
16. *Oldenlandia herbacea*.—Very common in Eastern Province. India and Tropical Africa.
17. *Pothos scandens*.—Generally a wet-zone plant. Common. Also India to China.
18. *Semecarpus obscura*.—The dry-zone form of this genus; common; possibly medicinal. *Endemic*.
19. *Gomphia angustifolia*.—Fairly plentiful in dry zone; valued as a post timber. South India and Malaya.
20. *Nephelium longana*.—Common; prized for its agreeable fruit (*mora*) and good timber. India to South China.
21. *Crossandra undulata*.—Common. Very showy flowers. Fairly abundant in dry country. Also India.
22. *Begonia malabarica*.—Ornamental. Also South India.
23. *B. tenera*.—Ornamental. I have found it in rocky places and stream banks in dry zone. *Endemic*.
24. *Strychnos cinnamomifolia*.—Fairly common in parts of the Eastern Province.
25. *Sansevieria zeylanica*.—Very common on rocks in the dry zone, and much prized for its fibre (bow-string hemp). Also South India and Burma.
26. *Canthium parviflorum*.—A very common dry-zone tree, the leaves of which are eaten. Also India.
27. *Euphorbia tortilis*.—Rather uncommon, but occurs as a hedge plant. Also South India.
28. *Fagraea obovata*.—A dry-zone plant often found growing on trees. Also India.
29. *Litsea zeylanica*.—Very common in dry zone. Also India and Malaya.
30. *Canthium didymum*.—Abundant on rocky ground in dry zone. India to South China.
31. *Strychnos colubrina*.—Common in dry zone. Also South India.
32. *Connarus monocarpus*.—Abundant in Eastern Province. Also South India.
33. *Asparagus falcatus*.—Common. A vegetable.
34. *Cyanotis villosus*.—Common; probably eaten. Also South India.
35. *C. zeylanica*.—Common. *Endemic*.
36. *C. fasciculata*.—Common. India.
37. *Aneilema zeylanicum*.—A dry-zone commelina. Also South India.
38. *Commelina Kurzii*.
39. *C. clavata*.—A weed. India and Java.
40. *Mimusops elengi*.—Fairly plentiful in Eastern Province dry forests; good timber; fruits eaten. Also India and Malaya.

41. *Selaginella crassipes*.—[Mr. Nock kindly identifies this for me.]

42. *Carissa spinarum*.—Exceedingly common in dry zone. Also India and Burma.

43. *Balsamodendrum caudatum*.—Probably introduced for the sake of its resinous sweet-smelling wood. Common in rocky places, where ruins are found, e.g., at Nuwara-gala, Kantalai, &c. Also South India.

44. *Hibiscus furcatus*.—Ornamental. Tropical Asia.

45. *Gynura nipalensis* (?)—Occasional.

46. *Vitex altissima*.—The favourite *milla*. Common. Also India.

47. *Crinum asiaticum*.—Common on the summit of "Westminster Abbey" round the larger *pokuna*. A common dry country plant. India.

48. *Vanilla Walkeria*.—I have found this handsome orchid plentiful in restricted areas in the dry zone. Its ornamental flowers are striking, and probably led to its cultivation. Also India.

49. *Macaranga tomentosa*.—Not uncommon in dry zone near streams. South India.

50. *Rhipsalis cassythæ*.—Occurs on rocks as well as trees in dry zone occasionally. A plant of wide tropical distribution.

51. *Ananas sativa*.—The common pineapple: is widespread in Ceylon. It is abundant on the top of "Westminster," but its fruit was much degenerate in form, though the flowers are largely developed.

52. *Phyllanthus niruria*.—Common: tropical weed.

53. *P. polyphyllus*.—Common: tropical weed.

54. *Chloroxylon Swietenia*.—Abundant throughout dry zone. Also India.

55. *Trema orientalis*.—Common; always found after chena clearing in the dry country. India.

56. *Heptage madablota*.—Common. South India to China.

57. *Vitis quadrangularis*.—Very common in dry zone. Is eaten as a vegetable. Common from South India to Africa and Java.

58. *V. pedata*.—A common dry country vine. Tropical Asia.

59. *Notonia grandiflora*.—Rare. I have only seen it as a cultivated plant. I found it on a heap of ruins on "Westminster." South India.

60. *Grewia microcos*.—An abundant species. India to China.

61. *Diospyros ebenum*.—Common in dry zone. South India.

62. *Caryota urens*.—A solitary specimen on the top of "Westminster;" is probably a survival only, as the *kitul* is not common in the dry zone.

63. *Sterculia thwaitesii*.—Fairly plentiful from 1,000 ft. and downwards on the eastern flank of "Westminster Abbey." *Endemic*.

64. *Piper Sylvestre*.—Occasional. Also India.

65. *Scolopia Gartneri*.—Common in dry zone, especially in rocky land. *Endemic*.

66. *Mangifera zeylanica*.—Occasional. Fruit eaten. *Endemic*.
67. *Pterospermum suberifolium*.—Very common: a typical dry-zone plant, though extending up to Balangoda. [N.B.—Seeds winged.] Also South India.
68. *Nothopogia Colebrokiana*.—Not common, but probably introduced. Western India.
69. *Uvaria sphenocarpa*.—Fairly common. *Endemic*.
70. *Cyperus*, *sp.*—(Undetermined.)
71. *Sida humilis*.—A common weed. Tropics generally.
72. *Alsiodaphne semecarpifolia*.—Common in the dry forests of the Eastern Province in general. A fine timber. South India.
73. *Dioscoria oppositifolia*.—Not common. The root is much eaten by the poorer people. Also occurs in South India and Burma.
74. *Thunbergia fragrans*.—My specimen was obtained near the summit of the "chimney." [N.B.—Trimen records a variety of this—*parviflora*—from the summit of Riṭi-gala, over 100 miles from "Westminster Abbey." Also India to Tropical Australia.
75. *Allophylus cobbe*.—A medicinal plant, the wood of which Mr. Nevill states the Vedḍās use for bows. Not common. South India.
76. *Dioscoria intermedia*.—Equally uncommon with No. 73. *Endemic*. Roots eaten.
77. *Calophyllum tomentosum*.—Probably an introduced species for the sake of its nut.
78. *Mundulea subrosa*.—Common on all rocky hills in southern dry zone. South India, Tropical Africa, and Madagascar.
79. *Linociera albidiflora*.—Not common. Queensland.
80. *Hydnocarpus alpina*.—Very common from near Muppāne to Lahu-gala in the immediate neighbourhood of streams or dry beds. Also South India.
81. *Cynanchum pauciflorum*.—An example was obtained from among sound rocks. Also South India.
82. *Ipomœa*, *sp.*—No flowers.
83. *Typhonium*, *sp.*—A bud specimen.
84. *Loranthus longiflorus*.—Common. India and Malaya.
85. *Munronia pumila*.—Occurs in many places in the Eastern Province, e.g., at Kowḍāgala and Kanthalai. Valued as a medicine. *Endemic*.
86. *Jasminum flexile*.—Fairly common. Also India.
87. *Chrysophyllum Roxburghii*.—Occasional in dry country. Fruits eaten. Also India and Malaya.
88. *Polyalthia korinti*. } Both common in dry country and
89. *P. longifolia*. } both in South India.
90. *Memecylon capitellatum*.—Very common, and in places quite a characteristic shrub.
91. *Diospyros ovalifolia*.—Common. Is used for hut building. Also South India.
92. *Evolvulus alsinoides*.—Common, especially in short grassy places. Tropics.
93. *Psychotria*.—? *sp.* No flowers Common.

94. *Psilotum nudum*.—Not common.
95. *Leea sambucina*.—Generally near streams, and appears to be an "escape" from moist forests. "Throughout Eastern tropics" (Trimen).
96. *Eugenia spicata*.—Occasional, but of no size. Also in South India and Malaya.
97. *E. bracteata*.—Common. *Endemic*.
98. *Lasiosiphon eriocephalus*.—Mr. Nock obtained this species.
99. *Trigostemon nemoralis*.—Fairly abundant, and at summit of "Westminster." Also South India.
100. *Desmodium gyrans*.—At summit of "Westminster." India to Philippines.
101. *Mollugo stricta*.—Dry-country plant.
102. *Cordia oblongifolia*.—I record this with some hesitation. The plant we obtained below the "chimney" of "Westminster" was much like a *Fagraceæ*, but with smaller flowers: I did not again meet with it.
103. *Anisochilus suffruticosus*.—A dry-zone Labiate. *Endemic*.
104. *Aloe*, *sp.*—An introduction, evidently.
105. *Vanda*, *sp.*—Example not in flower.
106. *Polystachya luteola*.
107. *Dendrobium macrostachyum*.
108. *Saccolabium brevifolium*.

#### Ferns.

109. *Adiantum flabellatum*.
110. *A. caudatum*.
111. *A. caudatum*. var. *rhizophorum*.
112. *A. Capillus—Veneris*.
113. *A. lunulatum*.
114. (*Microlepia*) *Davallia speluncæ*.
115. (*Microlepia*) *Davallia elegans*.
116. *Polypodium adnascens*.
117. *P. quercifolia*.
118. *P. lingera*.
119. *Cheilanthes mysorensis*.
120. *C. laxa*.
121. *Nephrolepis exaltata*.
122. *Asplenium falcatum*.
123. *A. tenuifolium*.
124. *Drymoglossum heterophyllum*.
125. *Hemionitis arifolia*.
126. *Pteris quadriaurita*.

P.S.—I might add that in a cave below the summit of the "Westminster Abbey" chimney I found a species of *Didymocarpus*, not in flower, and a small patch of damp ground literally covered with *Oldenlandia* seedlings.

The CHAIRMAN at the close of the reading invited discussion, saying it was a drawback that the author could not be present to answer questions naturally suggested by the Paper.



Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM said they were all greatly indebted to Mr. Lewis for his interesting Paper, which dealt with a little known district. He was not competent to deal with the ornithological and botanical aspects of the Paper, which he would leave to those more competent than himself: but looking over the list at the end of the Paper he noticed 108 plants and 18 kinds of ferns mentioned. That was a large list, and indicated the care and observation exercised by Mr. Lewis. The speaker next made a few observations on the philology of the hills. *Deyigal-hina*, for instance, was "god's rock;" *Nilgala* was "blue rock"; *Námalu-hela* was from the *ná* tree. He thought Mr. Lewis was wrong in his reference to *Góvinda-hela* and Hinduism. If *Góvinda-hela* was associated with Vishnu, it was something to say that Adam's Peak was known as *Sumanakuta*. The ancient names, such as Kataragama, indicated that the ancient religions were animistic, but it was Hinduism in a more highly developed form. It was nothing more than a speculation of his, but he mentioned it as a suitable line of future inquiry for those more competent than himself.

The CHAIRMAN said Mr. Lewis, by compiling the Paper just read, had set a very good example to public officers whose duties take them to remote and sparsely-populated parts of the Island. A good deal was known about the ancient populousness of our north and north-central districts; but there was comparatively little known of the south-east, which, however, had also been densely populated, as evidenced in the ruins of buildings, tanks, &c. He could imagine the satisfaction of Sir Everard im Thurn with the careful observation evidenced in Mr. Lewis's Paper, for as President of their Society Sir Everard im Thurn had never failed to impress them with the value of field observation in Natural History and note-taking. They were much obliged to Mr. Arunáchalam for his critical and suggestive remarks.

Dr. NELL proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Lewis for his Paper. The Sinhalese in Bintenna knew Adam's Peak as *Sumargala*. Mr. Lewis mentioned a large number of endemic plants, but the *hibiscus* and the *arnottiana* were introduced in recent years, and they, perhaps, found their way into the part of the country mentioned by Mr. Lewis through travellers. Their President had done well to emphasize the point that Survey and Land Settlement Officers, and other such-like officials, should not neglect their opportunities for interesting investigation when stationed in the less known districts.

The CHAIRMAN put the vote of thanks to Mr. Lewis, and it was carried with acclamation.

#### FAREWELL PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

4. Mr. FERGUSON:—Ladies and Gentlemen, before closing the Meeting, I have, in view of my approaching departure to England, to place my resignation of the office of President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in the hands of the Members, and to thank them for the honour conferred on me by

my election and re-election at four successive Annual Meetings. Practically four years have elapsed since I was called by the Council on the nomination of Sir Everard im Thurn (who, curiously enough, will be in Colombo this week) to the Presidential Chair, and, save the late Colonel Fyers, R.E., and the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta, my term of office is, I believe, a longer one than has appertained to any of my predecessors. At the same time I am specially conscious of the imperfect way in which your Chair has been filled through these past four years, and feel sure that a change at this time will be for the benefit of the Society during the coming year, and probably not a few succeeding ones.

Nevertheless, I am free to confess that in some respects seldom, if ever, before has the Society so prospered as of late years. This is especially the case in regard to increase of Membership since Mr. Joseph as Secretary conjoined with his duties those of Honorary Treasurer, taken over from Mr. R. H. Ferguson. Since January 1, 1905, we have added 111 new members to our roll (of whom no fewer than 85 were added in 1907-08), and our list now stands at a total of 268.

In the same period seventeen Papers have been read before General Meetings of the Society and nine others accepted without reading, making twenty-six in all published, while there are in hand some four Papers, and others are awaiting consideration. Altogether five Journals have been published since I assumed office. The Journal for 1908 is well in hand, and will be issued soon after the close of the year.

I have to make an apology and express regret for not completing the second portion of my historical Paper on "The Coconut Palm in Ceylon: Beginning, Rise, and Progress of its Cultivation," which appeared in the Journal for March, 1906. I have most of the materials ready, and hope to get the time needed to complete the Paper for your Council's consideration during my term of furlough. I have been gratified by not a few letters from residents in other tropical lands and from home authorities as to the interest and value they attached to the first part of this Paper, and it is only right the second division, covering well-nigh 250 years, should be dealt with.

I will now refer very briefly to some of the anticipations I formed in connection more or less with the work of the Society in the course of my long Presidential Address to you on March 16, 1906. Four, and even three, years ago I was quite discouraged as to the prospect of an Observatory for Colombo. But through appeals in the Legislative Council our last Governor, Sir H. A. Blake, came to see the need of this institution, and now we have the "Blake Observatory" very nearly completed and fully equipped under the accomplished direction of Mr. H. O. Barnard, to whom a qualified assistant has just been appointed. No doubt in the course of a few years there will be additions to the Observatory; but in the meantime the most pressing want is an "Equatorium," which, I trust, will very soon be supplied.

Next I would touch on the investigation of the Veddás by Dr. and Mrs. Seligmann, pressed on Government in my last Address as well as in the Legislature, and finally provided for. It is not quite clear yet whether European anthropologists consider that Professor Virchow's wish has been fulfilled by what has been termed this final inquiry, namely, that "the language and customs, the physical and mental constitution of the Veddás," has "in all particulars been firmly established." But certainly much towards this end has been accomplished, if not all that can possibly be achieved under present circumstances.

In this connection it is important to note the continued and increasing interest which attaches to Mr. John Pole's discovery of pre-historic implements used by the Veddás before they knew anything of iron. Mr. Bruce Foote, the chief Anglo-Indian authority on this branch, and who is about to publish an important work in two volumes on his own discoveries in India, is delighted with Mr. Pole's finds of quartz implements, and especially with his careful drawings of the same. He considers that a selection of the plates is well worth publication by this Society for the enlightenment of all who take an interest in the pre-history of Ceylon. Here is an extract from a long letter addressed to your President by Mr. Bruce Foote a few weeks ago:—

"Pole's drawings are admirable, quite artistic, and give a capital idea of the very various forms produced by the old quartz chippers, who were so widely distributed over Ceylon. I recognized many of the specimens he had shown me when he came to see me at Atgalla in May. The great majority of his specimens are to my apprehension genuine artifacts made with design for some definite purpose.

"From their wide distribution over the Island I cannot help inferring that they were the handiwork of a wild tribe who lived there for a long period, but whose wants were few, and the variety of the objects they produced to satisfy those wants was small, compared with those produced in other countries—India, for example—where the people were more civilized; and also because they found several varieties of stone, as chert, agate, jasper, and porcellanite, infinitely easier to work into useful implements than the very stubborn crystalline quartz, than which no more intractable material exists in the world. The forms recognizable include knives of sorts, piercers, and scrapers, both tongue-shaped and incurved. The latter, which seem to be by far the most numerous objects they turned out, must have been of very great value in scraping the shafts of their arrows to the sizes required, while the many shapely sharp points they produced served well as arrow heads. The tongue-shaped scrapers were essential for the preparation of the skins they procured in the chase, and which were doubtless converted into garments. The Neolithic people in Southern, Western, and Central India had such abundant supplies of capital chert, agate, and jasper (in great variety) that they very rarely had recourse to quartz, but their artifacts

in that material were necessarily as rude as these found in Ceylon, for they could not do better with such a villainous material to work upon."

If only our funds permitted I would certainly recommend that as soon as Mr. Pole's drawings, with descriptive letterpress, are passed by the Council they should be published. Perhaps the Government may see its way to extend some aid, in view of the express approval and recommendation made by so great an authority as Mr. Bruce Foote.

We are all, I have no doubt, on the *qui vive* to see Mr. H. Parker's book on Ceylon Antiquities, the publication of which is expected about this time. He also has expressed much interest, as did the brothers Sarasin and Dr. Seligmann, in Mr. Pole's finds.

The revision of the *Mahāvamsa*, for which a Special Committee has been appointed, is a work of great interest to this Society, and so is Professor Geiger's critical work on the original Pāli, now weekly expected from Germany.

The progress of archaeological research under the able and experienced direction of Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner, has always commanded the warm interest of our Society. I am glad to be able to say that Mr. Bell has very nearly overtaken all the arrears in respect of his Annual Reports. Two Reports have lately been laid on the Council table, and the remainder will be ready ere long, and then Mr. Bell will be free to give all his attention to out-of-door work.

Unfortunately, through the Secretary of State throwing out the Governor's proposal to give out of Surplus Balances Rs. 50,000 each year for some years, to excavation and restoration, only Rs. 20,000 could be spared out of the General Revenue for 1909: but it is hoped that the vote can be considerably increased for 1910.

It behoves the Members of this Society to take an intelligent interest in what is going on in other Eastern lands, and our Reading Room and Library offer excellent opportunities for obtaining much information.

I have lately returned from Java, and a visit to the vast and most interesting ancient Buddhist and Hindú ruins in that island. There are similar ruins of great importance in Cambodia, and, with the facilities for travel multiplying, visitors to these and other near or far eastern lands may be expected to include not a few Members of this Society, who will find a ready welcome given by officials and others when they learn of their archaeological and scientific interests in Ceylon.

In this connection mention should be made of the second and fully revised edition of our former President's (the Metropolitan Bishop's) standard book on "Buddhism," which has been the subject of so many favourable reviews.

A new edition of that standard work the late James Fergusson's "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," edited by Dr. J. Burgess, is on the eve of issue. The chapter on Ceylon has been revised by Mr. Bell.

It is very natural that history in one form or other should be the subject of a large number of Papers contributed to our Society; and one really considerable and important work is shortly to be issued from the press under the auspices of the Society, namely, "History of Ceylon, from the earliest times to 1600 A.D., as related by João de Barros and Diogo de Couto," translated and edited by Mr. Donald Ferguson.

A great authority on education and on history has lately laid down certain rules, which it would be well we all should bear in mind in our reading and study of history. He says: "There are four things to which the teaching of history may always be made to conduce in different degrees at different stages: an interest in the life of the past, a training in the laws of evidence, a philosophic understanding of the development of human civilization, and last, but not least, a clarified moral sense and the acquisition of a spirit of justice and charity in passing judgment on human nature, whether in nations, in parties, or in individuals."

The Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon, which was extended from 1906 to cover 1907-08-09, will expire at the end of next year, and the Government is asking the opinion of Professor Dunstan of the Imperial Institute as to the wisdom of continuing the Survey for any longer period or not.

We must all be interested in Dr. Willey's biological work in connection with pearl oyster culture and in other directions, and it should be a matter for general satisfaction that Government has seen its way to make a first vote, though small, in favour of the inland fisheries' investigation, because there can be no doubt of the scope existing for the development of a most important industry in pisciculture through our rivers, lakes, and tanks.

The publication of interesting and useful selections from the Dutch records under the direction of the Archivist, Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, and his assistant, Miss Pieterz, has been continued, and for this our thanks are due to Government.

I will not refer to the contents of my long Address of March, 1906, and the indications of work to be done, further than to say that I trust our Vice-President, the Hon. Mr. Lewis, will be able before he retires to do justice to "Monumental Inscriptions in Ceylon," in which he has long taken a warm interest.

Thanks are due from me to the many gentlemen who have helped us with Papers and in other ways during my term of office.

In saying farewell, I would venture, if I may be permitted to follow the precedent made by my predecessor, to recommend, fully assured of your approval, for the post of President (in case he should be able, and inclined, to give the Society his services) the name of the Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary of this Island, whose special literary attainments are well known, and who, although only a comparatively short time in our midst, has manifested a wide interest in the concerns of the people and in the working of this Society and the scientific work which it has promoted. I now say farewell.

5. Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM said he was voicing the sentiments of all of them when he said that they had heard of the President's resignation with extreme regret. They did not at all agree that the resignation would be to the advantage of the Society. It would be wholly disadvantageous. It was impossible at such short notice for him to adequately express the obligations the Society was under to Mr. Ferguson. Its present prosperity was largely due to him. He hoped that Mr. Ferguson would not say farewell, but sit again as their President before resigning. Besides, they had no opportunity of addressing Mr. Clifford, who was leaving early the next day, and they should fairly insist on the President retaining his seat meanwhile. He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the President. Seconded by Mr. Freudenberg.

6. The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he had been their President for four years, and in his last election had clearly stated it must be his last year. He would be away the greater part of next year, and it would be unfair to the Society for him to continue as President; besides, Mr. Clifford had taken only six weeks' leave. He (the speaker) hoped to return to Ceylon, which was his adopted home; and if the Society wanted to fill a vacancy among the Vice-Presidents, he would be glad to serve as such, but in the meantime it must be "farewell."

This closed the Meeting. The retiring President bade good bye to his many friends before leaving the hall.

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*EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.*

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The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology and Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.

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1910.



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\* At General Meeting of December 18, 1909.



# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

### CEYLON BRANCH.

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#### THE DUTCH EMBASSY TO KANDY IN 1731-32.

Diary of Wijésiriwardhana Mahá Mudīyanse, otherwise  
called Lewis de Saram, Mahá Mudaliyár.

*Translated from the Sinhalese by*

P. E. PIERIS, C.C.S.

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#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE manuscript from which this translation is made consists of thirty-one quarter sheets of thick Dutch paper, which had originally been stitched together to form a book. Two pages appear to be missing at the beginning, one in the middle, and one at the end; but the completeness of the narrative is not seriously affected thereby.

The loose sheets were discovered among a heap of documents in one of the Mátara Walawwas, and have been kindly placed at my disposal by E. R. Gooneratne, Gate Mudaliyár, of Galle.\*

The writing is extremely beautiful and considerably superior to modern print, with hardly an erasure throughout. The language is the stately Sinhalese of the court, and is identical with that employed in the account of King Kirtti Śrī Rāja Siṅha's Embassy to Siam† and the importance attached to the language used on State occasions may be judged from the anxiety of the Dutch Governor regarding the inexperience of our diarist's proposed assistant in 1734.‡

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\* They were the property of the late J. L. Philipsz Paṇḍitaratna, Mudaliyár, of Mátara.

† Translated and printed in R. A. S. Journal, vol. XVIII.

‡ Pielat's *Memorie*, p. 50.

Wijésiriwardhana Mahá Mudiyanse was born about the year 1660, about the very time of the expulsion of the Portuguese from their settlements in Ceylon; and the fragments of their language which appear in his narrative are of interest. He was a member of that great family which has supplied more Mahá Mudaliyárs than any other one family since 1700; and his carefully-kept Diary is a valuable record of the ceremonial at Naréन्द्रa Siṅhá's Court by one whose nationality, high position, and great experience made him an ideal recorder of the events witnessed by him.\*

The only liberty which I have taken with the original in the present translation is in curtailing the tedious repetition of the record of wearisome formalities.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist, kindly writes : "I have compared this translation with the Dutch official version of the embassy preserved in the Government Archives, with which I find it agrees, barring a few trifling variations of no particular importance. Neither the name of the Dutch Governor during this period nor that of the Ambassador referred to transpires in this diary. The Governor was Stephanus Versluys, who succeeded the tyrant Vuyst in 1729, and who was himself recalled in 1732; the Ambassador's name was Captain Joan Wilhelm Schnee. The embassy started on December 15, 1731."

I have gratefully to record my obligations to Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., for the valuable notes contributed by him.

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.... Met [16 December 1731] by three Kórálas and numerous Árachchies and Vidánés. After the customary greetings had been exchanged, he advanced in company with these chiefs (*Radulavaru*) between two lines of soldiers formed by the three *istancist*† which were in attendance to the *tánáyama* of Avissahawélla on this side of the Sítáwaka-ganga. Shortly after the Mohottála‡ of the Three Kóralés having asked for and obtained permission from the Ambassador to convey the presents to the further bank, this was accordingly done; while the letter, the box containing the machine for indicating the hours, which was called *orlosia*, and the

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\* A book published in 1723, in the preparation of which he had a share, is mentioned in the Ceylon Literary Register, vol. II., p. 104.

† Port., *estancia*.

‡ I.e., the Disávé Mohottála.—H. W. C.

three camels remained at the *tánáyama*. In the meantime these gentlemen had their midday meal; and as soon as they had finished the chiefs announced that the presents had been safely deposited within two of the storehouses attached to the *tánáyama* at Sítáwaka within His Majesty's dominions. The three *istancis* and the *lascorins* (*hévéápanné*) were then drawn up in two files; and the three camels were led through them, followed by the Ambassador and the other gentlemen with the letter and the box. On reaching the river bank the Ambassador bid the others farewell, and taking the letter from the hands of the Disáva\* placed it on his own head: as he was being conveyed across the river with his suite, the three *istancis* fired three volleys from their guns, the Ambassador's escort of soldiers doing the same on reaching the further bank. After this the Ambassador, his suite, and the chiefs from the Three Kóralés moved on, reaching the *tánáyama* at Sítáwaka at three o'clock in the afternoon, where letter and box were deposited. On satisfying himself as to the condition of the presents and the animals, the Ambassador sent a despatch to His Excellency the Senhor, our Governador, the same day reporting the progress he had made.

Nothing was done during the next four days [17th to 20th] beyond inspecting the letter and presents. But on the evening of Friday, the 21st, the Mohottála of the Three Kóralés appeared with the information that news had been received of the despatch of some chiefs from the Mahá Wásala to Sítáwaka, and that he had to proceed to Ruwan-ella to meet them. He started after obtaining the Ambassador's permission; and on the following day sent a message to the effect that the Disávé Rálahámi of the Three and Seven Kóralés, with some other chiefs, would arrive that evening at the *tánáyama* of Kebellaruppé: which matter also was immediately reported to His Excellency. Nothing worth relating occurred the following day: but on the evening of Monday, the 24th, news was received that seven chiefs were near at hand; whereupon the Ambassador and his suite advanced the

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\* I.e., the Dutch Disáva of Colombo.

usual distance to meet them. They consisted of Mámptiyé\*. Rálahámi, Disáva of the Three and Seven Kóralés, Leupe† Mohottála Hámi, Tunpanahé Raté Rálahámi, and the Kōṭagaloluwa, Íriyagama, Doranágama, and Hulaṅgamuwe Muhandirams, accompanied as a mark of honour by ten cannon, ‡ one hundred and twenty-five musketeers, two standards, fifteen banners, one hundred and thirty spearmen and twelve men with *horané* and *sipháran*. They were received with the usual formalities and sprinkled with rose water: after which they were escorted to the *tánáyama*, which they reached about seven o'clock at night. There the Disáva stated that he had been despatched with His Majesty's commands to inquire after the health of his faithful, honoured, and well-beloved Excellency the Governador. To which the Ambassador replied that by the blessing of God when he himself started from Colombo His Excellency was in sound health and prepared to serve His Majesty with all zeal, loyalty, and devotion. The chiefs expressed their great pleasure at this, and made similar inquiries regarding the officers of his Council; to which a similar reply was given. They finally asked after the Ambassador's own health and also whether since his entrance within His Majesty's dominions there had been anything lacking in the honours which had been paid to him or the manner in which his wants had been attended to. The latter answered with an expression of the greatest satisfaction that he was continuing in good health in the service of His Majesty, and that nothing had been lacking in the treatment rendered to him in accordance with the gracious commands which he had been pleased to issue; and he ventured to express his humble and loyal thanks to His Majesty for his condescension in making these inquiries regarding him. He was then informed that pending the early arrival of some high chiefs

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\* Mámptiyé Navaratna Amurtahasta Mudiyanse. Disáva of Seven and Three Kóralés; also in 1721 (*Valentyn*, p. 352); grandfather of the Dugganná Unnáse of Kirtti Śrī Rāja Siṅha.—H. W. C.

† I.e., Lewke Vijayasundara Rájakaruna Herat Mudiyanse, or Vijayasundara Rájakarunáyaka Seneviratna Mudiyanse, Disáva of Four Kóralés, c. 1745.—H. W. C.

‡ *Kodituwaku*, gingalls; [Dutch, *sprinkhaan*.—R. G. A.]

to escort him with befitting ceremony, five of them had been commanded to remain behind to see that he was properly attended to ; while the Doranágama and Hulangomuwa Muhandirams were to return to the capital (*Nuwara*) and report on the letter and presents. The Ambassador declared that he was well pleased with the arrangement, and in His Excellency's name begged to be informed if His Gracious Majesty continued in the enjoyment of good health. To which they answered " May he reign a thousand years in prosperity over his realm, to the strengthening of his well-beloved and excellent Governor, his trusty Hollanders, and his own mighty army ;" and added that when they left the capital His Majesty was reigning in sound health on his golden throne. The Ambassador professed the greatest happiness at this ; he was convinced that the news would cause equal pleasure to His Excellency ; and he begged to be informed regarding the health of the Disáva, his companions, and the other chiefs at the Mahá Wásala, expressing great satisfaction at the continuance of their welfare in the service of His Majesty. After this all went and inspected the letter and presents ; at which all the chiefs expressed nothing but pleasure. They were then treated with betel and arecanut ; after which they started back for their *tánáyama* as they were weary with their journey, the Ambassador accompanying them the usual distance.

Shortly after the Mohottála of the Three Kóralés returned with a confidential message to the Ambassador from the Disáva to the effect that the wigs\* which had been sent on a previous occasion from Colombo were not of such an excellent quality as to ensure acceptance from His Majesty : accordingly, in view of the great confidence which the King had in His Excellency, and from his steadfast knowledge of his desire to render him every service, he asked that the latter might be requested to forward to him two wigs of loose and very white hair of sufficient length to cover the shoulders, and two others of medium length : this message had been confidentially entrusted to the Disáva by His Majesty in consequence of the reliance placed in him, after orders had been given for the

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\* Many were found packed in boxes in the Palace 1815.—H. W. C.



rest of the chiefs to proceed to Sítáwaka, and he had been commanded to communicate the same at Sítáwaka. He added that it would be a great favour if the wigs could be sent in three or four days to be despatched to the Mahá Wásala, and that His Majesty would be highly gratified if this could be effected.

The next morning all the chiefs came and again inspected the letter, &c.; and having at the Ambassador's request seated themselves they were served with betel, arecanut, and other articles. The Disáva then announced that the chiefs mentioned the previous day were ready to start for the capital. Whereon the Ambassador in the name of His Excellency represented that I, Lewis de Saram, Wijésiriwardhana Mahá Mudiyanse, who had come as First Interpreter, was now advanced in years and in feeble health, and requested permission for me to travel in an *andor*\* as had been done in a previous year. The Disáva undertook to refer the matter to the Rálahámis at the Mahá Wásala by the hands of the two chiefs and to obtain a reply before the Ambassador started from Sítáwaka. Whereupon he begged them on their arrival to convey to His Majesty at a suitable time, with the help of the high Rálahámis of the Mahá Wásala, his most humble remembrances and loyal gratitude for His Majesty's condescension in despatching the chiefs to meet him; and also to tender to the said Rálahámis an expression of his kindly regard, all which they promised to do. After this rose water was sprinkled; and having taken the dimensions of the camels the two chiefs started. All this, as well as the request which had been made on behalf of His Majesty, was reported the same day to His Excellency by letter.

Nothing further of importance occurred till on Saturday, the 29th, two Appuhámis, despatched by His Excellency in consequence of the request mentioned above, arrived with a sealed box containing the wig in question, which was to be delivered without delay to the Disáva, as well as a letter addressed to the Ambassador. The former was immediately

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\* A species of palanquin. On their use within the kingdom, see D'Oyly.

forwarded to the Disáva by the hands of one of the same experienced Appuhámis and the Mohottála of the Three Kóralés; who were also directed to inform him that immediately on receipt of His Majesty's request His Excellency had inquiries made throughout the whole of Colombo for four wigs of very white hair, but without success. He accordingly sent a wig, which had recently been received from *Ólanda*\* for His Excellency's own use and which had never been so used, to be submitted to His Majesty by the Disáva on behalf of His Excellency; a wig such as befitted the king could not be made in Colombo, but further inquiry would be made as soon as the ships arrived from *Ólanda*; failing that, he gave his assurance that a befitting one would be obtained from *Ólanda* itself, and he begged the Disáva to report accordingly; further, the powder and ointment which pertained to the wig would be found enclosed in the same box.

The Disáva replied that he would not fail to communicate all this the very next morning to his Appuhámi, who was Haluwaḍana Nilamé,† and send on the box, sealed as it was, to be submitted to His Majesty at an auspicious moment in His Excellency's name. He further added that when he returned to the capital he would himself report everything by word of mouth; and he requested that his sincere thanks might be conveyed to His Excellency for the trouble he had taken to comply with the request made through him. He was convinced His Majesty would esteem the matter highly as a signal proof of His Excellency's unswerving devotion and loyal attachment. All this was reported to His Excellency the next day.

Nothing further occurred till Friday, the 4th of January, 1732, when on receiving information the Ambassador and the rest advanced the usual distance; and at six o'clock in the evening met Héndeniyé Kúruwé Mohottála Hámi and the Mímuré and Walgampáyé Muhandirams who had been despatched from the Mahá Wásala. They were accompanied as a mark of honour by nine tusked elephants with bells, seven

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\* Holland.

† Master of the Robes. The widow of the Haluwaḍana Nilamé of the last king is still alive at Kégalla. [The lady in question, Golshela Kumarihámi, has died since this note was written.]

banners, several musketeers and spearmen, four trumpeters, and two drummers. After greetings had been exchanged and rose water sprinkled they were escorted to the *tánáyama* where the letter, &c., were inspected; and after the usual inquiries the Kúruwé Mohottála announced that they had been commanded by His Majesty to escort the embassy with all care to the capital. The Ambassador expressed his gratitude, and, after the usual replies, made inquiries after the health of His Majesty and of the chiefs. When these had been replied to, and betel and arecanut served round, they retired to rest after the exertions of their journey.

The following morning [5th], when the Ambassador and his suite were prepared to start, all the chiefs assembled, and, according to the usual custom the presents were despatched in advance escorted by elephants and lascoreens. After a letter had been forwarded to His Excellency, a start was made from Sítawaka at noon under a salute of fifteen guns, amidst the music of drums, trumpets, *horané* and *siṅhāran*, and the waving of flags, the Ambassador and the letter being accompanied by all the chiefs, except the Disáva of the Three and Seven Kóralés who remained behind to accompany the baggage. By half-past four the *tánáyama* of Ruwan-ella was entered without any mishap under a salute of ten guns. A start was made the next day [6th] at noon under a similar salute; and on approaching the *tánáyama* of Kebellagaharuppe the embassy was met by Dumbara Raṭé Rálahámi,\* the Disáva of the Four Kóralés, who was accompanied by ten guns, twenty musketeers, one standard, fifteen banners, ninety-five spearmen, five archers, and a few men with *horané* and *siṅhāran*. He escorted the Ambassador to the *tánáyama*, which was reached at five o'clock under a salute of fifteen guns. The next morning [7th], at half-past eleven o'clock, a fresh start was made under a salute of ten guns, the Disáva of the Four Kóralés remaining behind in charge of the baggage. After a toilsome journey Heṭṭimulla was reached at half-past three, and the *tánáyama* was entered

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\* Dumbara Rájakaruna Senaviratna Abhayakon Mudiyanse, 1721, Disáva of Nuwara Kaláviya; probably the same as the Disáva of Sabaragamuwa, of 1755, father of the two Migastenne Adigars.—H.W.C.

under a salute of ten guns. But when we were ready to start the next afternoon [8th] at one o'clock, the Ambassador informed the chiefs that out of the three camels, the female animal was refusing its food and was apparently in poor health. They thereupon declared that as the mud was thick on the road after the heavy rain, and the animal was unwell, it was not desirable to remove them just then; and they arranged to detain them till the rain ceased and the animal had recovered, the Disáva of the Four Kóralés undertaking to remain behind and to follow on with them. The Ambassador then started with the rest of the chiefs, and by half-past six in the evening reached the *tánáyama* at Attápitíya without any accident, entering it under a salute of ten guns. At noon the following day, which was Wednesday the 9th, the three animals arrived; and as the female animal was found to take its food as usual it was thought to have recovered from the malady: of which fact and of his own movement forward His Excellency was duly apprised by a letter from the Ambassador.

Nothing worth recording occurred on the two following [10th, 11th] days; but on the afternoon of the 12th, on information being received of the approach of two chiefs from the Mahá Wásala, the Ambassador and the chiefs who were with him advanced the usual distance to meet them. These were Dehigama,\* the Nánáyakkára Mohottála Hámi, and Hiyambalangamuwé Muhandiram Mahatmayá, who were accompanied by a few armed men. On their arrival rose water was sprinkled and they were conducted to the *tánáyama*, where the usual inquiries were made in His Majesty's name and satisfactory answers returned. The Mohottála then announced the further commands of His Majesty; which were to the effect that, pending the despatch of some important chiefs to accompany the Ambassador and his mission, the five following, viz., Leupe Mohottála Hámi, Héndeniyé Kúruwé Mohottála Hámi, Tumpanahe Raťé Rálahámi, and Koťagaloluwa and Íriyagama Muhandirams were to remain with the Ambassador and attend to his wants, while the Disáva of the Three

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\* Dehigama Navaratna Atapattu Wáhala Mudiyanse, Kodituwakku Lékam in 1721.—H. W. C.

and Seven Kóralés with the Mímuré, Walgampáyé, and Hiyambalangamuwé Muhandirams and myself were to proceed on to the capital later. At this the Ambassador expressed his grateful thanks and declared that his constant anxiety was to comply with the gracious commands of His Majesty: after which the chiefs retired to their *tánáyam* stating that they would inspect the letter and presents the following day. This they proceeded to do on the morning of Sunday, the 13th, all the chiefs assembling at the *Mahá Tánáyama*: after which those who had been directed to return to the capital declared that they were ready to start; whereupon the Ambassador begged them to convey the usual loyal messages to His Majesty and the other chiefs, which they undertook to do. They started on their road at eleven o'clock in the forenoon after being sprinkled with rose water, the Ambassador and the chiefs who remained behind accompanying them a short distance from the *tánáyama*. The same day a despatch was sent by the Ambassador to His Excellency the Governador.

Nothing worth recording occurred up to Monday, the 21st. On the afternoon of the 22nd the Ambassador and the chiefs who were with him advanced to meet the Hiyambalangamuwé and Walgampáyé Muhandirams, who were coming from the Mahá Wásala, and after exchanging greetings escorted them in the evening to the *tánáyama*. After the usual inquiries, Hiyambalangamuwé Muhandiram stated that they had been despatched by His Majesty to inform him that, pending the speedy arrival of some important chiefs to escort him, in consequence of some matters which created delay at the Mahá Wásala, it would be necessary for chiefs to remain at Attápitiya a little longer. To this the Ambassador gave a suitable reply, whereupon the chiefs returned to their *tánáyama* after inspecting the letter and presents. The next day [23rd] all the chiefs went and inspected the letter, &c., and the two who arrived on the 22nd returned to the capital, undertaking to convey a similar message on behalf of the Ambassador to His Majesty and the court. A letter was at the same time despatched by the Ambassador to His Excellency the Governador.

At this time we heard rumours that Sanguranketa Nuwara\* had been burnt down and all the wealth in the treasury (*Aramudala*) destroyed; in consequence of which the people on guard had been arrested, and some had been put to death, and others were to be punished. It was further reported that the Disávas of Seven and Four Kóralés and some of the other chiefs were engaged there in collecting the gold and silver which had been melted down.

Nothing further of importance occurred until the 3rd of February.

On the evening of the 4th, which was Monday, the Ambassador and the chiefs who were with him advanced the usual distance to meet some others who were coming from the Mahá Wásala. These consisted of the Disáva of the Four Kóralés, Dehigama Nánáyakkára Mohottála, and Walgampáyé and Hiyambalangamuwé Muhandirams, who were accompanied as a mark of honour by eleven guns, twenty-three musketeers, two standards, six flags, five archers, and a few spearmen. After greetings were exchanged and rose water sprinkled, they were conducted to the *tánáyama* and stood in front of where the letter was deposited: inquiries were then exchanged as to each other's health, and the Disáva announced that His Majesty had commanded that the Ambassador with his letter and presents, and the chiefs who were with him, should be conducted to the *tánáyama* at Ganoruwa when a befitting moment presented itself. At which the Ambassador rendered due thanks and declared that he would not delay in preparing to start at any time that was convenient to the chiefs: whereon they satisfied themselves that the letter and presents were in due order, and pleading weariness retired to their *tánáyama*.

The following morning [5th] all the chiefs appeared at the *tánáyama* and stated that, if a proper opportunity offered, it was desirable to proceed to Walgowwágoda on the next day; to which the Ambassador replied that he would be prepared to accompany them in due time. On the morning of the 6th all the chiefs assembled, and after the presents had been

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\* Residence of the Heir Apparent afterwards Śri Vijaya Rája Siṅha.  
—H. W. C.

despatched in advance with the usual ceremonies, and after the Ambassador had forwarded a letter to His Excellency the Governador, at ten o'clock in the afternoon the Ambassador and the rest of the chiefs started from Atṭāpitiya conveying the letter with them under a salute of ten guns, while the Disáva of the Four Kóralés remained behind in charge of the Ambassador's baggage. Crossing the steep Baláné road the Ambassador dismounted at the *kaḍawata* of Baláné, and by four o'clock in the evening we arrived at the *tánáyama* of Walgowágoda, which we entered under another salute of ten guns. Leaving this at ten o'clock the next morning [7th] in the same manner as the previous day under a similar salute, while the Nánáyakkára Mohottála remained behind in charge of the baggage, we advanced to the neighbourhood of Dodanwala Déwálé; where, according to custom, the Ambassador dismounted. By half-past three we approached the *tánáyama* of Ganoruwa, where we were met by Hulangomuwa,\* Second Adigar (*Deveni Adikárama Rálahámi*) and Imbulmaldeniyé Muhandiram who had come from the Mahá Wásala with a guard of honour of numerous armed soldiers and four whip-crackers.† These advanced to meet us the usual distance and accompanied the Ambassador to the *tánáyama*, where the letter was duly deposited, and twelve guns were fired. They took their stand in front of where the letter was deposited, and inquiries were exchanged about each other's health; after which they further explained that the delay at Atṭāpitiya was entirely due to the necessity of observing some ceremony at the Mahá Wásala at the time and for no other reason. The Adigar added that, as His Majesty had graciously decided to give a speedy audience to the Ambassador, he had been pleased to command that Héndeniyé Kúruwé Mohottála Hámi, Tumpanahe Raṭé Rálahámi, and the Hiyambalangamuwé, Koṭagaloluwa, Imbuldeniya, and Íriyagama Muhandirams should remain with the Ambassador to see to his wants; whilst the Adigar, the Disáva of the Four Kóralés, the Nánáyakkára Mohottála, Leupe

\* Hulangomuwe Wijayasékara Rájapaksa Ekanáyaka Wáhala Mudiyanse.—H. W. C.

† A distinction to which the Mahá Adikáram alone were entitled. The Raṭé Adikáram had whips but could not have them cracked.

Mohottála, and Walgampáyé Muhandiram were to return to court and report matters; and that His Majesty had ordered that the Ambassador should be informed accordingly. He expressed his gratitude, as usual, and begged the same might be conveyed to His Majesty. This they undertook to do, and started on their return journey, the Ambassador accompanying them as far as the bank of the river, at which they were highly gratified. After a short interval a Gébalanarála\* arrived from the Mahá Gabaḍáwa with a few vessels containing food,† cooked in the Siṅhalé fashion, as a present to the Ambassador.

On the morning of the 9th the Ambassador forwarded to His Excellency the letter which he had prepared the previous morning, but for the despatch of which no permission had been received till the evening. At three o'clock the same afternoon Dehigama Nánáyakkára Mohottála and Paṭṭipola Muhandiram came from the Mahá Wásala to make the usual inquiries, the Mohottála adding the same message as before regarding an early audience; in reply to which the Ambassador begged that his humble and loyal thanks might be conveyed to His Majesty. After which the chiefs inspected the letter and presents, and after a short conversation started on their return journey after being served with betel and arecanut, the Ambassador sprinkling them with rose water and accompanying them as far as the river bank.

Nothing further happened till on Wednesday, the 13th, a Gébalanarála appeared with two trays of slabs of jaggery (*hakuru poru*) from the Mahá Gabaḍáwa and presented them to the Ambassador.

Again, on the 20th, a Gébalanarála appeared with a present of dried deer flesh and jaggery for the Ambassador. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, Dehigama Nánáyakkára Mohottála and Paṭṭipola Muhandiram came to make the same inquiries as before, with an explanation of the delay in granting him audience and with a promise to do so in a few days. The Ambassador replied as on the previous occasion, after which the chiefs returned with the same ceremonies as before.

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\* Four such were attached to the Mahá Gabaḍáwa. Their duty was to see to the packing and preserving of the stores.

† *Adukkupettiya*, the usual present to a specially honoured guest.



Nothing further occurred till on Thursday, the 13th of March, in the afternoon, Dodanwala\* Rálahámi, Disáva of Sabaragamuwa, Joseph d'Orta† Rálahámi, Disáva of Bintenna, and Dehigama Nánáyakkára Mohoṭṭála Hami arrived, being met by the Ambassador and the chiefs who were with him at the usual distance. They were accompanied to the *tánáyama*, where, after the usual inquiries after each other's health, the Disáva of Sabaragamuwa delivered the following message from His Majesty :—

While the Portuguese were settled in some places in Lanḡá, as they failed to give satisfaction in their services to the kings who were formerly on the throne, the great King Rája Siṅha, out of the confidence which he had in the Hollanders, invited them to Lanḡá, and with the help of their army drove the Portuguese out of the kingdom, conferring on the Hollanders the forts, harbours, and privileges which they had held ; and not only have past kings displayed such kindness, but His Majesty who now occupied the throne even surpassed them. His Majesty, therefore, desired to be informed why the trade at Puttalam had been prohibited.

The Ambassador suggested that it was desirable that they should state in respect of what the trade had been prohibited. The Disáva replied that the previous year a quantity of pepper and arecanut had been forwarded to Kalpiṭiya on account of the Mahá Gabaḡáwa. In view of the repeated protestations of previous Governadors of their readiness to carry out all the demands of the Mahá Wásala, why were these articles lying rejected instead of being duly accepted ?

In accordance with the instructions which he had received from His Excellency, as to the explanation which he was to offer to the great Rálahámis of the Mahá Wásala, the Ambassador made the following reply :

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\* In Saka 1653 [A.D. 1731] he was Diva Nilamé of the Máligáwa, R.M. Yatinuwara, Wibadde Lékam, Chief of Koṭṭal Badḡa, and Disáva of Sabaragamuwa. His full name does not appear in the *Sittuwá*. Later on another Dodanwala was D. Wikramasinha Chandrasekara Karunatilaka Seneviratna Pandita Mudiyanse.—H. W. C.

† The d'Orta Ekenaikés are a well known Matara family. [Joseph D'Orthe was in 1721 Disáva of Puttalam : *Valentyn*, p. 352.—H. W. C.]

In June last year [1731], Rásakini Waññiyá of Puttalam, Navaratna\* Waññiyá, and Rájapaksa Waññiyá with Kanakaratna Mudali and the Kanakkapulle of Puttalam arrived at the Fort of Kalpiṭiya with twelve boats loaded with eleven or twelve hundred *amunas* of rotten and evil-smelling arecanuts, which they pretended belonged to the Mahá Gabaḍáwa; but with which as it was ascertained about five hundred *amunas* of the large arecanuts of the Kalpiṭiya traders had been dishonestly mixed. They falsely pretended that they had been sent by the Disáva of Puttalam to deliver the arecanuts and receive their value without delay; and contrary to all previous custom, in place of the *amuna* of twenty-six thousand, they demanded payment at the rate of four and a half *patágas* the twenty-four thousand, falsely and maliciously asserting that that was the manner in which the Company sold to others. With a view to compel the Company to receive the arecanuts they brought them within the fort and returned to Puttalam without informing any one. Again, in August, Rása Waññiyá, Iranasiṇha Navaratna Waññiyá, Kumára Waññiyá, and Kumarasiṇha Waññiyá, with a Brahman and three Kanakkapulles, arrived at Kalpiṭiya with a boatload of pepper which they stated belonged to the Mahá Gabaḍáwa. His Excellency had sent word to Kalpiṭiya to accept the pepper at the rate of twenty-five *patágas* the five hundred pounds, and a clear intimation to that effect had been sent to them from Colombo a few days before their arrival; in spite of which they maliciously stated that they had the Disáva of Puttalam's orders to demand forty-five *pagódas* for a *bar* of four hundred and eighty pounds. What increased the wickedness of the Waññiyás of Puttalam was that they had dared to use the name of His Majesty as a reason for not removing their worthless stuff: their violent language was dishonouring to the Great Company, and hence the articles were rejected. No wrong had thereby been done: their sole desire had been to obtain an advantage for themselves. Moreover, when they were requested by letter to remove their property, as directed by

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\* For a *sannasa* in favour of Navaratna Waññiyá, *vide* Casie Chitty's Gazetteer, Appendix.

His Excellency, they declined to reply to the *talpata*, asserting that they had received no authority from the Disáva to do so.

All this the Ambassador explained to the chiefs. He begged, as instructed by His Excellency, for an inquiry into the conduct of the Disáva of Puttalam and of his Wanniyás; and that the same might be submitted to the gracious consideration of His Majesty, so that he might pass his censure on them for their wicked acts and warn them against a repetition of the same in the future.

They promised to submit the matter as requested, and added that possibly the evil behaviour of these men did lead to the loss of a few arecanuts belonging to the Mahá Gabadáwa;\* but that was of little concern, as a good deal more belonging to the Mahá Gabadáwa and the inhabitants was likely to be ruined by the closing of the ports. What was the reason for their being so closed, contrary to all precedent? It entailed great loss on the Mahá Wásala through the stoppage of trade; for apart from the revenue which used to be received from the harbours of Puttalam and Kottiárama, various presents and rarities used to be brought to the Mahá Wásala through them, which were all now lost. What then was the reason for this closure? the Disáva inquired two or three times. He urged that it was the duty of the Company to make good the loss thereby sustained. This question had been repeatedly asked from the Ambassadors and from His Excellency at Colombo, but up to date no decided reply had been given. While the ports were open to trade no hostile or injurious act had been committed by any one. His Majesty was confident that the Company would do what was advantageous to him and carry out his commands; and in His Majesty's name the Disáva requested the Ambassador on his return to Colombo to submit the matter to His Excellency without delay.

This he undertook to do, but expressed his regret at his inability to give a definite reply regarding the former custom as regards the ports and the reason for their being closed, as he was not well informed on the subject; but they should

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\* The question of these arecanuts was still unsettled in 1734, *vide* Piclat's *Memoire*, 43.

be aware that repeated orders had been received from Their High Mightinesses in *Ólanda* for the custody of the ports, so as to secure the safety and immunity and peaceful rule of His Majesty ; and how could it be urged that no decided reply had been given regarding the matter ? It had been clearly stated in the presence of the Ambassador and of the chiefs that, according to the orders received from *Ólanda*, those ports could never be opened. It was pointed out that, as I had been the interpreter on the occasion, I would be well aware of the fact ; whereupon I, Lewis de Saram, Wijésiriwardhana Mahá Mudiyanse, added that emphatic orders had been received from *Ólanda* year after year up to date for keeping the ports securely closed. Further, the Company and His Excellency were steadfast in their unalterable determination to in every possible manner carry out the commands of His Majesty ; and in this determination there had not been the slightest change, and he (the Ambassador) begged that the same may be so submitted to His Majesty, which they promised to do.

They then continued that one of their former Excellencies had sent a carriage to the Mahá Wásala which was still in existence ; but of the horses some had died and the rest were aged, and so the carriage could no longer be used ; they therefore begged the Ambassador to request His Excellency when he returned to Colombo to send without delay two or four handsome well-matched horses, which were strong and accustomed to harness. The Ambassador replied that His Excellency had used every effort to secure a powerful white horse suitable for a present to His Majesty both in the district of Jaffnapatam and also at Colombo, but to his great disappointment he had not been able to do so ; but he would not fail to despatch one as soon as he could succeed in securing it. He had also written again for the birds called *Wésarammuda bás*, and he was hoping to be able to send them to the Mahá Wásala before he himself started for Batavia ; and should he succeed in securing suitable horses for the carriage, he would not fail to forward them without delay.

The Disáva then announced that His Majesty had decided to give the Ambassador audience the following day. After

examining the presents and inspecting the camels in their stall, they remarked that they were a magnificent present, and expressed themselves as highly pleased : they added that these animals had been sent before but had not bred, and the species was not then to be found in Lan̄kā. After that the Ambassador sprinkled them with rose water and they started on their journey back to the capital.

On the 14th [March] at one o'clock Ehelépolā Rálahámi.\* Disáva of Uḍapaláta, and the two Muhandiram̄s Walgampáyé and Doranágama arrived from the Mahá Wásala and were received and escorted with the usual ceremonies ; After exchanging inquiries as to each other's health, the Disáva announced that they had been commanded by His Majesty to escort the Ambassador with the letter and presents with every mark of honour to receive audience. The Ambassador expressed his loyal thanks for this gracious favour ; after which the presents were conveyed across the river, preceded by elephants, and the same marks of honour as before. The Disáva was then informed that the Ambassador was ready to start ; and at four o'clock the journey was commenced under a salute of thirteen guns, the Ambassador and the letter being accompanied by all the chiefs with a large body of lascorins, banners, drummers, trumpeters, and performers on the *siṅhárāma*. On reaching the river bank the animals were taken across followed by the Ambassador, and all advanced as far as the bridge at Bógambara, where a short halt was made close to the city. Here we were met by Rammoláké Mahá Adikáram Rálahami,† and Mádanwala Ekanayaka Rálahámi. Disáva of Mátalé, from the Wásala. Next we moved on through two rows of armed lascorins with a line of tusked elephants on one side amidst the whirling of

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\* Probably E. Vijayasundara Wikramasinha Chandrasekara Seneviratna Pandita Mudiyanse, in 1745 Adigar and Disava of the Seven Korales.—H. W. C.

† First Adigar, 1721 (*Valentyn*. 353). There was an Adigar and Disáva of Sabaragamuwa of this name in 1666 : Vijayasundara Wikramasinha Chandrasekara Amarakon Seneviratna Rájakaruna Paṇḍita Wáhala Mudiyanse. On the death of the Adigar in Kunda-sale's reign the family became extinct and the village a Gabadagama.—H. W. C.

lighted flambeaux, till we approached the first gate (*Wahalknda*) of the *Máligáwa*, where we were met by Hulangomuwé Rálá-hámi, the Second Adigar, and the Disávas of Sabaragamuwa, Seven Kóralés, and Four Kóralés. The former requested us to wait a little while till the arrival of the Ambassador could be announced to His Majesty and his commands obtained, whereupon the Ambassador submitted that it would be considered a great mark of favour if . . . . ., the Secretary, and Philip Philipsz\* who had come as second Interpreter, were also permitted to have the honour of appearing before His Majesty; which matter too the Adigár promised to submit to His Majesty for his commands. He entered the *Máligáwa* and returned in a short time with His Majesty's command for the Ambassador to appear before him with the letter. At the same time he informed me that the Secretary and second Interpreter could wait in the neighbourhood of the Hall of Audience (*Dakina Sáláwa*) pending further instructions. Thereupon the Ambassador received the letter from the hands of the Appuhamis and placed it on his own head and climbing up the stone steps and crossing the *maḷuwa* of the *Máligáwa* approached in front of the Hall of Audience. There we drew up, I taking my position on the Ambassador's right, while the two Adigárs and the Disávas of Mátalé, Sabaragamuwa, Seven Kóralés, Four Kóralés, and Uḍapaláta, with Dehigama Nánáyakkára Mohoṭṭála, grouped themselves on either side.

After a short pause the seven curtains were drawn aside and revealed His Gracious Majesty seated on his throne. Immediately the Ambassador sank on one knee, while the rest of the chiefs and I prostrated ourselves six times; we then entered the Hall of Audience repeating the same salutation at three places. On reaching the edge of the carpet which was spread in front of the Throne, His Majesty commanded that the letter should be presented, while the Nánáyakkára Mohoṭṭála and I remained where we were. Thereupon the rest of the chiefs advanced with the Ambassador, and as he

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\* Subsequently Wijeyekon Paṇḍitaratna, Mahá Mudaliyár (Gold medal from Governor Van Gollennesse, March 5, 1751). The family is now extinct.

knelt on one of the steps leading to the throne, His Majesty took the letter in his own royal hand and commanded the chiefs to place it with its wrappings and the silver tray on his right, which they accordingly did. The Ambassador then immediately removed his hat and saluted according to custom, and moved backwards with the chiefs till he reached the middle of the carpet, where he remained kneeling on one knee. On His Majesty's command the Nánáyakkára Mohottála and I stepped on the carpet and made our prostration.

His Majesty thereupon inquired if his faithful, trusty, and excellent Governador was in sound health ; to which the Ambassador humbly submitted that at the time of his leaving Colombo His Excellency was in good health and prepared to render faithful and loyal service according to the commands of His Majesty. At this His Majesty was graciously pleased to express his pleasure and proceeded to make similar inquiries regarding the Members of his Council and the Ambassador himself, and the treatment which had been accorded to him since his arrival within His Majesty's dominions. To these questions the Ambassador gave suitable replies, expressing his gratitude for His Majesty's great condescension in deigning to make these inquiries regarding him.

His Majesty expressed his satisfaction and stated that the unusual delay which had occurred in giving him audience was entirely due to some matters at the Mahá Wásala and for no other reason. Thereupon, in accordance with His Excellency's orders, the Ambassador declared that he always awaited with all devotion His Majesty's gracious commands, as he was His Majesty's humble and zealous servant, and he begged to tender his most loyal thanks to His Majesty for the attention and regard with which he had throughout been treated within His Majesty's realms. He was then permitted to sit down as was convenient to him ; which after expressing his humble thanks and again obtaining permission he proceeded to do. His Majesty then inquired if His Excellency had entrusted to him any message which he was to convey by word of mouth. On the Ambassador replying in the affirmative, and begging for permission to communicate the same, permission was granted ; whereupon in the name of His Excellency and of the

Honourable Members of his Council he wished His Majesty many years of continued health and prosperity.\*

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After tendering to His Majesty in the Company's name his humble thanks for the great kindness which had been shown, he further begged for permission to have cinnamon peeled in the forests of His Majesty's dominions this year too as in former years, and to convey male and female elephants to Jaffnapatam by land; which permission was also granted. He then added that the previous year His Excellency Wouter Hendriksz,† Extraordinary Councillor of India, while on his way as Commissioner to Cochin, had arrived within the jurisdiction of this Government in the month of December with his ship the *Henhuis Assen Borg*,‡ on the completion of his duties at Cochin he would, in accordance with the orders of the Government of India, come and take over the Government at Colombo. Further, Their High Mightinesses in *Ólanda* had appointed His Excellency the Governador to be Raad Ordinary of the Great Council of India, but shortly after, in consequence of his own earnest request, Their Excellencies at Batavia had permitted him to administer the Government here during his stay, after which he could surrender the same with all honour and return to Batavia. The arrival of the successor who had been nominated might be delayed a few months, but steps would be taken to inform the Mahá Wásala immediately it occurred.

His Majesty was pleased to express his satisfaction at this, and promised to send some of his chiefs to make inquiries no sooner the information was received by him. Next the Ambassador begged to be allowed to step outside the Máligáwa and to bring in the presents which had been entrusted to his custody by His Excellency, to be submitted in the name of the

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\* The next two pages of the manuscript are missing.

† Wouter Hendriksz did not, however, succeed Versluys as Governor of Ceylon. The latter was recalled in August, 1732, and the Commandeur of Jaffnapatam, Gualterus Woutersz, with the Political Council of Ceylon, was appointed to administer the Government until the arrival of Jacob Christiaan Pielaat as Commissioner.—*R. G. A.*

‡ 't Huys Assenburg.—*R. G. A.*



Honourable Company, in the fervent hope that they might find acceptance with His Majesty as a token of the unswerving friendship entertained by the said Honourable Company towards His Gracious Majesty. Permission being given we made obeisance as before, and the Ambassador, the chiefs, and I stepped backwards till we emerged from the Hall of Audience. We halted on reaching the *maḷuwa* of the Máligáwa, and as we were despatching the presents and animals within the Disávas of Sabaragamuwa and the Seven Kóralés, who had entered the Máligáwa, returned and inquired from the Ambassador if he desired to have a second audience with His Majesty a few days later, or if he preferred to obtain permission to return to Colombo on this occasion, the reason for the inquiry being that the Ambassador, in whom His Majesty had so much confidence, had been already compelled to remain a few months within his dominions in consequence of delays at the Mahá Wásala, whereas the previous year he had been granted two audiences within a brief period. The Ambassador replied that he had been ordered by His Excellency in every matter to abide by His Majesty's commands, and he was accordingly prepared to comply with any command that might be given. However, as His Majesty had deigned to make inquiry regarding his own wishes in the matter, he would consider it a singular blessing if he were favoured with a second audience. The two chiefs re-entered the Máligáwa and in a short time returned with the announcement that His Majesty would be pleased to grant a second audience with the same ceremony as this first. Thereupon after expressing thanks the Ambassador and I and the chiefs returned within the Máligáwa, and after making our obeisance as before stood upon the carpet; when the Ambassador was again given permission to sit down, which he did. He was then asked if at the previous interview he had omitted any portion of the message which had been entrusted to him by His Excellency, to which he replied that he had not failed to communicate everything, humbly thanking His Majesty for the inquiry. He was next asked what office had been conferred on him by His Excellency. He replied that he had accompanied His Excellency on his way

from Batavia as Lieutenant over his soldiers, and that shortly after he had been appointed Captain and a member of the Council, which appointment had been confirmed by Their Excellencies at Batavia. His Majesty then gave him permission to return to his *tánáyama* and rest, as it was already late and the journey was long and the river difficult to cross, promising to grant him a second audience in a few days' time, when he would receive permission to return to Colombo. At this the Ambassador expressed his thanks, and after making his obeisance backed out of the Hall of Audience with the rest of the chiefs.

On again approaching the *maļuwa* the Ambassador was conducted to the dining hall\* by the Disávas of Sabaragamuwa, Seven Kóralés, and Four Kóralés who left him there, when the Gabađá Rálas served him with a royal repast; when this was concluded he came out of the hall and was met by the same chiefs. The Disáva of Sabaragamuwa then inquired from him why Wouter Hendricksz, Extraordinary Councillor of India, who had been nominated to this Government by Their Excellencies in India, had sailed past Colombo and gone on to Cochin without landing, and why no information had been sent of his approach before this, and for what reason the expected departure of His present Excellency to Batavia had been notified to the Mahá Wásala. The Ambassador explained that the orders of Their Excellencies at Batavia were that His Excellency Wouter Hendricksz should assume duties at Colombo only after completing the mission on which he was despatched to Cochin: adverse winds had, however, compelled him to put in at Galle with his ship somewhat damaged, and he had proceeded from there in another vessel. This had occurred at the very time that the Ambassador was ready to start from Colombo, and therefore he was of opinion His Excellency the Governador had decided to convey the news of the same and of his own impending departure to Batavia

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\* This was to the left of the main entrance to the Palace, *vide* Heyt's account shortly to be published by Mr. J. P. Lewis. There were two distinct entrances, one to the Palace and the other to the Málígáwa. The last King built the Mahá Wahalkada, and brought round the steps of both entrances to meet it.—H. W. C.

by word of mouth, as a token of his respect to His Majesty. The courtiers expressed themselves as satisfied at this, whereupon the keys of the boxes,\* casks, the case containing the *orlósia*, and of the box containing the saddle for the camels, were delivered to the Second Adigár, the Ambassador explaining that His Excellency had sent the saddle merely that they might learn of its nature. At this too they expressed their satisfaction, and all the chiefs accompanied him as at the first occasion the usual distance outside the capital, as commanded by His Majesty, the Disáva of Sabaragamuwa adding that, as a further honour, he had directed that the six chiefs who were with him as well as Dehigama Nánáyakkára Mohoṭṭála and Paṭṭipola Muhandiram should escort him to the *tánáyama* whence the two last were to return. The Ambassador begged him to convey to His Majesty his humble thanks for the high honour which had been conferred on him; after giving his friendliest regards to these chiefs, and bidding them farewell, he continued his journey with the eight others who had remained behind, reaching the *tánáyama* at midnight. The two who had to return to the capital started back after being sprinkled with rose water and entrusted with another similar message of thanks.

At midday on the 15th [March] Dehigama Nánáyakkára Mohoṭṭála, Doranágama Muhandiram, and Deḍigama Dugganná Appuhámi arrived from the Mahá Wásala with the Wíbaddé Mohoṭṭála, and after the usual inquiries stated that several people who were considered to have some knowledge of the matter had unsuccessfully attempted to make the *orlósia*, which had been sent by His Excellency, mark the hours correctly, and it was suspected that it had got out of order. The Ambassador had therefore been requested to examine the same and to instruct the Deḍigama Appuhámi and the Wíbaddé Mohoṭṭála in the management of it. He accordingly took it in hand and caused it to strike the hours correctly, and pointed out all the peculiarities of it repeatedly to these chiefs to whom he then returned it declaring that

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\* *Kēḍara*, still used in the Kalutara District for large trunks on legs, with drawers.

it was in perfect order, begging them at the same time to inform His Majesty that he was prepared at all times to comply with his commands, and that he considered it a high honour that he was thus enabled to be of assistance in this matter. They promised to comply with his request, and sat down and were served with betel and arecanut; when they also inquired regarding the manner of feeding and bathing the animals, and the treatment to be adopted in case of their illness. The Ambassador thereupon made inquiries from the person who had come in charge of them and enlightened them on these points. After which they returned being sprinkled with rose water and escorted back the usual distance.

Information was also received that the animals had been paraded before His Majesty that morning; when he had caused the saddle which had been brought from Colombo to be placed on the back of one and a man to mount the same. His Majesty had been pleased to express his pleasure with the animals, declaring that they could be employed for carrying a drum to be beaten when he was on a journey, and had commanded that they should be carefully attended to in a separate *pantiya*. A letter had also been prepared by the Ambassador to be despatched to His Excellency this day; but as no permission was received it was not despatched till the afternoon of the next day, which was Sunday.

Nothing of importance happened till the 21st, on which day at half-past two o'clock Balagalle\* Paḍikāra Mohoṭṭāla and the Walgampáyé and Paṭṭipola Muhandirams arrived with His Majesty's commands to escort the Ambassador to his second audience. The Ambassador after due thanks prepared to start immediately, advancing from Ganoruwa, with all the chiefs, at four o'clock. After crossing the river we reached the capital at six o'clock, when we were met by the First Adigár and the Disáva of the Four Kóralés by His Majesty's command. We advanced accompanied by numerous standards and banners between files of armed lascorins till we reached the gate of the Máligáwa, where we were met by the Second Adigár, the Disávas of Sabaragamuwa, Three

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\* In 1741 Diwa Nilame of the Máligáwa. —H. W. C.

and Seven Kóralés, Mátalé, Uḍapaláta, and the Nánáyakkára Mohoṭṭála. The Second Adigar and the Disáva of Sabaragamuwa requested the Ambassador to delay a little till his arrival was announced to His Majesty and his commands obtained; whereupon he requested that the Secretary and the second Interpreter might also be granted the honour of accompanying him when appearing before His Majesty. They replied that they would submit the matter for orders, and entering the Máligáwa returned in a short time with His Majesty's permission for the Secretary to accompany the Ambassador. We then advanced, and after we had taken our stand before the Hall of Audience the curtains were drawn aside and revealed His Majesty. The Ambassador and the Secretary immediately fell on one knee, while I and the rest of the chiefs, according to former custom, made our prostration at two places, and at the third reached the edge of the carpet, and remained in obeisance.

His Majesty then inquired regarding the well-being of the Ambassador since the last audience, to which satisfactory replies were returned with humble thanks; at which His Majesty expressed his pleasure and inquired if there were any further messages to communicate on behalf of His Excellency. The reply was that everything had been communicated on the last occasion when he was favoured with an interview. He was thereupon invited to advance on the carpet and to be seated, which he proceeded to do with the Secretary after receiving permission a second time. His Majesty thereupon expressed his satisfaction at the care which he had bestowed on the conveyance of the letter and presents, the becoming manner in which he had conducted himself within His Majesty's dominions on the occasion of the audience, and also at the contents of the letter; and added his lively appreciation of the sentiments expressed by His Excellency, and requested the Ambassador to convey the same to him when he met him in Colombo on his return; further adding that a *talpata* would be sent in reply to the letter without much delay, from which His Excellency would learn of His Majesty's satisfaction at the conduct of the Ambassador, which matter His Majesty was of opinion would be of advantage

to the latter. The Ambassador expressed his happiness at being entrusted with such a fortunate message. He tendered his humble thanks for the favour which he had received at the hands of His Excellency and the other high dignitaries for a similar gracious message which had been entrusted to him when he was honoured with an audience the previous year, and declared his assurance that this message would ensure to him a repetition of the same favours. His Majesty expressed his pleasure at this and reminded the Ambassador that it was at his own choice that he delayed for a second audience when His Majesty was prepared to give him permission to depart after the first, as his reception had been deferred owing to delays at the Mahá Wásala. The Ambassador made a becoming reply, and was asked how long it would be before the new Governador, His Excellency Wouter Hendricksz, would arrive in Colombo. He replied that it was impossible to state definitely, but that if he did not arrive immediately, there might, it was expected, be a delay of a few months. Thereupon he was presented with a *kastána* and the other usual articles, while the Secretary and I received the customary presents; after which we received permission to return to the *tánáyama* and to start for Colombo the next day. Thereupon, as on the previous occasion, we made our obeisances and retired with the rest of the chiefs.

We were next conducted to a *maḍuwa* where the Gabaḍá Rálas served us with a royal repast, of which we partook. When we emerged from the room the silver tray and shawl were returned to us, and all the chiefs with Pinapáyé\* Waṇṇaku Rálahámy and Baṭuwatté Bráhmaṇa Rála met us, whereupon the Mahá Adigár bespoke the earnest attention of the Ambassador to a matter of importance which they desired to communicate to him. Previous kings had invited the Hollanders into the country and settled them in the kingdom owing to the great confidence which they had reposed in them, and they had not betrayed that trust; they were convinced that their behaviour would remain unchanged. Now the pepper which

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\* c 1750, Pinnapaye *alias* Dunuvila Rájakarunadhara Ekanáyaka Dharmmakirtti Mudiyanse, Disáva of Mátaḷe.—H. W. C.

had been despatched to Kalpiṭiya by the Wannakurála and the other minor Gabaḍarálas was being delayed there. Should His Excellency take over the same at the usual price of the Company, and add somewhat to it for the honour of its being the property of the Mahá Gabaḍáwa, it would be a matter of satisfaction to the chiefs, and also the gratitude of the Company towards the Mahá Wásala would be demonstrated. The Disáva of Sabaragamuwa added that it would be well if the full amount of the money should be delivered with a *talpata* to the parties who would be despatched to receive the same. He further requested that any other commodities sent to Kalpiṭiya by the Mahá Gabaḍáwa might be taken over at the Company's usual price without so much delay : when these delays were talked about among other races they would lose their respect towards the Mahá Wásala. The customs of the Company in affairs of trade were not unknown ; but there was no necessity for any one to remind the Hollanders of such matters. The Disáva therefore requested that all this might be communicated to His Excellency without delay.

The Ambassador in reply referred them to the explanation which had already been given on the 13th instant. Though the Company had no urgent need for the pepper, yet had the Wanṇiás been prepared to accept the customary price it would, out of respect to the Mahá Gabaḍáwa, have been taken over as directed by His Excellency. The pepper in question and other commodities which were brought, and which were suited to the requirements of the Company, would be taken over without any delay at the customary prices, while the request for enhanced prices in the case of the property of the Mahá Gabaḍáwa would be laid before His Excellency.

The chiefs expressed themselves as satisfied, and continued that during the time of the previous kings, and of his present Majesty too, the Governadors who held office from time to time had supplied several good horses with auspicious marks, such as were suited for the State carriage. These animals had been obtained from Europe, Turkey, and Persia : the majority of them had died, and those which still survived

were old and unfit for the King's use. As His Majesty was anxious for some more, it would be good if they could be obtained and despatched; it was desirable that this should be done without delay, as otherwise His Majesty would not be satisfied.

The Ambassador answered that as His Majesty's fondness for horses, birds, and other rarities was well known, His Excellency had exerted himself to obtain them both from this kingdom and by communicating with foreign lands, but to his great regret he had so far been unsuccessful. But he would not fail to continue his efforts and would forward them to the Mahá Wásala as soon as they could be secured. The conveyance of horses by ship from Europe and Turkey was a matter of considerable difficulty, and the animals too were subjected to hardship by insufficiency of food, and it was therefore considered impracticable to obtain them from there. As Persia was closer it was possible that horses were obtained from that country when it was at peace; but for some years past there had been continued unrest there and the roads were unsafe, so that the traffic in horses and other merchandise had been suspended. In consequence no horses had been received for some time, but there was a rumour that matters had settled down again; if this were true it would be possible to secure some to be forwarded to the Mahá Wásala. He could however assure them that His Excellency was always prepared to do his utmost to carry out the wishes of His Majesty; and he begged them to submit the same when a proper opportunity presented itself. This the chiefs promised to do.

The Maha Adigár thereupon stated that His Majesty had commanded the two Adigárs and the rest of the chiefs to escort him a further distance along the road than on the previous year; and as a special mark of honour the six courtiers with Leupe Mohoṭṭála and Paranagama Muhandiram would accompany him to the *tánáyama*, after which the two last named were to return to the capital.

On the morning of the 22nd [March] the Second Adigár, the Nánáyakkára Mohoṭṭála, and the Walgampáye Muhandiram arrived at the *tánáyama*; and after the usual inquiries the



Adigár stated that they had been commanded to start the Ambassador for Colombo on this day, and that the Nánáyakkára Mohottála, with Koṭagaloluwe, Imbulmaldeniye, and Walgampáye Muhandirams were to accompany him. When the journey was begun the Adigár and the rest of the courtiers accompanied the Ambassador the usual distance, the Adigár declaring that they had been commanded to do so as a mark of honour to the Ambassador. The latter begged them to convey to His Majesty his humble thanks for the same; and after thanking the chiefs themselves for all the consideration he had received at their hands during his stay within His Majesty's dominions, he advanced with the four chiefs who were to accompany him, reaching Doḍanwala Déwálé at noon and Walgowwágoda at five o'clock. He then asked the chiefs if they proposed to push on to Hanwella the same day they reached Ruwanella, or if they intended to spend a night at Sítáwaka, as he desired to send information of their plans to His Excellency, so that he might give timely orders for preparations to be made for their reception with due honours. After a short conversation among themselves the Nánáyakkára Mohottála replied that, unless they received further instructions from the Mahá Wásala, as at present ordered they only proposed to accompany the Ambassador across the Sítáwaka-ganga. The custom of proceeding as far as Hanwella had only arisen subsequent to the embassy of Grigorius de Costa,\* and His Majesty's sole intention was to revert to the earlier practice, and the Ambassador was not to conclude that there was any other motive: the circumstances had been different at the visit of Gerart Palak.†

The Ambassador expressed his grateful thanks for all the honours he had received at His Majesty's hands, and expressed his readiness always to carry out His Majesty's commands; his only object in making the inquiry was that officials might be despatched to receive the chiefs on their arriving within the Company's territory, and that there might be nothing lacking in the honours with which they were welcomed.

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\* In July, 1707.

† Gerrit Valk, Koopman; date doubtful.—*R. G. A.*

On the following morning [23rd March], which was Sunday, a letter was despatched to His Excellency, and leaving Walgowwágođa at half-past eleven we reached Atṭápiṭiya at five o'clock, which we left the following noon [24th], arriving at Heṭṭimulla in the evening. This we left the following morning [25th] and reached Kebellaruppé in the afternoon, and arrived at Ruwanēlla on the evening of the 26th.

We left this town the following morning [27th] at seven o'clock, and on the road met an Appuhámi and two lascorins who conveyed a letter to the Ambassador. After reading this we reached Sítáwaka at noon, where he informed the chiefs that he had communicated to His Excellency the result of his first audience with His Majesty. Whereupon His Excellency had started the male and female elephants belonging to the Company by the Puttalam road to Jaffnapatam; but on approaching Mígamuwa they were stopped by a message which was conveyed to the *alpirsi*\* of Mígamuwa by Subasiṇha Árachchila, Mahalle Árachchila, and a lascorin from a Kórála and four Appuhámis who were guarding His Majesty's frontier on the other bank of the river of Topputurai.† They declared that as they had received no instructions from the Mahá Wásala they were unable to allow the animals to cross the river. The Governor, therefore, requested the Ambassador if he were still at the capital to strongly represent to the Maha Adigár the indignity which had been placed by these men on the Great Company and to demand permission for the immediate despatch of the elephants. This he said was the purport of the letter he had received from His Excellency. But should he have already taken his departure His Excellency was sending a letter addressed to the Mahá Adigár to be forwarded to him with beat of drum, so that he might submit to His Majesty this matter which was such an unwonted breach of his honour; for the action of these men was directly in opposition to the permission which had been

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\* *Port.* Alféres, an ensign.

† Before 1766 Pitigal Kórále was in the hands of the King and under the Disáva of the Seven Kórales. After that date the portion which remained to Kandy still had a separate Raṭé Lékam.—H. W. C.

publicly granted by His Majesty when he gave audience to the Ambassador. Moreover, the Company and His Excellency had endeavoured to the best of their power to please His Majesty and to show their friendliness towards him. His Excellency could, therefore, not imagine what reason there was for offering such an insult to the Great Company. The Ambassador added that as he had already received permission to return to Colombo he was unable to represent matters to the Adigár, and therefore he informed the courtiers of what had occurred.

The Nánáyakkára Mohottála replied that, as I was present at the first audience, I too would be well aware of the permission which His Majesty had granted regarding the transport of elephants and the peeling of cinnamon within his dominions. But they were of opinion that, as the agents of the Disáva of the Seven Kóralés had received no instructions from the Mahá Wásala, they were afraid to let the elephants pass. They were, however, unable to give any definite reply regarding the matter as they had only been commanded to escort the Ambassador back ; but they promised to report it immediately on their return to the capital to the Maha Adigár to be submitted to His Majesty. The Ambassador, however, pointed out that the matter would not admit of so much delay. The rainy season was at hand, and should the rivers rise the elephants would not be able to cross them and would be compelled to return, which would entail considerable loss on the Great Company. He therefore requested them to communicate with the Adigár without delay and have the roads opened for the elephants. After conversing among themselves they promised to inform the Disáva of the Seven Kóralés, when they said they were confident the affair would be satisfactorily arranged. They then withdrew to their *tánáyama*.

Starting again at four o'clock all crossed the Sítáwaka-ganga and were met within the Company's territory by Yodovus Welhelmus Helnebrandt, Disáva of Colombo, who had come from Colombo as Commissioner, with Jan Elias von Meilandonk the Zoldy Boekhouder, and Willem Bernard Alvenus, the officer in charge of the warehouse, while three

volleys were fired from the guns of the Company of soldiers who were under the command of Poloris Jansz\* the *alpersi* of Hanwella. We advanced between the ranks of this company of soldiers and entered the *tánáyama* of Avissahawella; when the usual inquiries after each other's health followed. The Disáva of Colombo then mentioned the same matter regarding the stoppage of the elephants, to which the chiefs returned the same answer as before; and added that as requested by the Ambassador they had already despatched two messengers to inform the Maha Adigár and the Disáva of the Seven Kóralés at the capital. They then sat down, and after a short conversation they stated that they had been commanded by His Majesty to inform the Commissioner that they had been ordered to accompany the Ambassador up to this point, and to express His Majesty's satisfaction at the care with which the Ambassador had conveyed the letter and presents, the becoming manner in which he had delivered His Excellency's message, and the discretion with which he had conducted himself while within His Majesty's dominions. They then arose to take their departure, whereon the Disáva begged them to convey to His Majesty an expression of His Excellency's loyal feelings towards him and of his zeal always to carry out any commands of His Majesty. The Ambassador at the same time requested them to carry his own humble thanks for all the attention and kindness he had received while within His Majesty's dominions, and for the message which he had been so graciously pleased to send regarding him, all which they undertook to do. They were then sprinkled with rose water and walked down between files of soldiers and lascorins to the bank of the river, where they bade farewell, the soldiers firing three volleys as they crossed the river.

The Ambassador then continued his way. He was met on the road by a company of soldiers at Kosgama and another at Parana Hanwella, reaching the *tánáyama* of Hanwella at eleven o'clock at night. From here the Ambassador despatched a letter to His Excellency.

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\* The Dutchmen referred to are Jodocus Willem Hillebrandt, Jan Elias Van Mylendonk, Willem Bernard Alvinus, and Floris Jansz.—*F. H. de Vos.*

On the 28th he started at nine o'clock in the morning, and after halting on the road at Nawagomuwa and Ambatalé he reached the river at Nakulugan at four o'clock. Here the Commissioner and the Ambassador entered a carriage, and by five o'clock reached the Castle of Colombo and reported themselves to His Excellency.

This statement of the daily occurrences of our journey is written with all duty, obedience, and humility. Should any error be found therein your most humble servant craves for pardon in the name of the Lord.

Thus written at Colombo on Friday, the Twenty-eighth day of March, One thousand Seven hundred and Thirty-two.

Of the statements recorded herein all except the message which was delivered and the replies which were vouchsafed at the first and second audiences.....

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## THE KANDYAN NAVANDANNÓ.

By H. W. Codrington, c.c.s.

## I.—NAWANDANNÓ.

THE “*Janawaṇsa*”\* distinguishes two great divisions in the caste—

1. *Kamburu* or *Áchárí*; workers in metal.
2. *Waḍuwó*; workers in timber and stone.

It derives the name “*Nawandannó*” from the smiths performing new work (*nava kam*) and renewing old. Under the Kandyan Government the caste was divided as follows:—

1. *Áchárí*, also styled *Gurunnēhélá*; all blacksmiths.
2. *Baḍallu*; gold and silversmiths.
3. *Galgánnó*; stone polishers.
4. *Galwaḍuwó*; stone cutters.
5. *Hittaru*; sittaru, painters.
6. *Í-waḍuwó*; lacquerers of arrow and spear shafts, fan handles, &c.
7. *Liyana-waḍuwó*; turners of ivory and buffalo horn.
8. *Lókuruwó*; brassfounders.
9. *Waḍuwó*; carpenters.

The *Waḍuwó* are now almost extinct, and stone polishing (*gal gánawá*) is no longer, as far as I know, done by Kandyan smiths.

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\* For a translation, see Mr. H. Nevill, *The Taprobanian*, 1886,—B., Ed. Sec.

The gold and silversmiths, including painters and workers in ivory and brass, but not the brassfounders, are known as *Gamladdó* or *Galladdó*,\* and hold the first rank. The name is to be explained by the large extent of lands held by these people on grants from the King. For lands held the silversmiths had to furnish the royal stores with silver chunam boxes and gilt and silver rings, while the blacksmiths provided arecanut cutters, billhooks, and coconut scrapers. All were bound to work for the King, when required, without compensation, with the exception of the carpenters and stone cutters, who were allowed provisions.

The men of the caste are entitled to wear the cloth below the knees, and the women the *ohoriya* (cloth thrown over one shoulder) but separate from the regular cloth.

Certain names are peculiar to the caste, *e.g.*, Ábharāṇa, Sónandaré, Jíwan, Déwéndra, Jíwéndra, Vijéndra, and Hittará. In the Uḍa-raṭa, Muhandirama is frequently met with. Other names are common to the smiths and other *Nayidés*. Among the families of Indian descent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Tamil names occur mixed with Sinhalese, *e.g.*, Ponnaidé.

The women of the caste are styled *Náchchiré* or *Náchchillé*, and by inferiors *Etaná*.

The goldsmiths alone of Kandyans, other than Vellálas, held slaves, but these, though not of a superior caste to their masters, were very impatient of their thralldom to them.†

In the Uḍa-raṭa the principal smith families are descended from Páṇḍiyan and other Indian craftsmen settled in Ceylon by the kings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It may be noticed here that the *sannas* of Bhuvanéka Báhu V., Parákrama Báhu VI., and Vijaya Báhu VII. show unmistakable signs of Dravidian influence.

\* *Gamladdó* (so written in the Lékammiṭiya of Three Kóralés) are holders of land. *gallat wasama* or *gallat gama*, the tenure of which resembles that of a *nindagama*, and are not necessarily Nawandannó. There were also Galladdó of the Kúruwa. *Gallat gam* still exist in the Three Kóralés.

† *D'Oyly*.

## II.—KOTṬAL-BADDA, OR ARTIFICERS' DEPARTMENT.

Certain smiths were organized in each district of the Kandyan kingdom as a department known by the name of *Koṭṭal-badda*.

There were two main departments, the heads of which were appointed by the king and known respectively as *Uḍa-raṭa Koṭṭal-baddé Nilamé* and *Páta-raṭa Koṭṭal-baddé Nilamé*. The latter title was held simultaneously by the Disáwas of the Four and of the Seven Kóralés, and occasionally by the Disáwa Sabaragamuwa. Thus Pilima Talawuwé who was then Disáwa of the two former Provinces, describes himself in 1793 A.D., as holding “the two Páta-raṭa Koṭṭal-badu.”

There were separate Koṭṭal-badu for Mátalé and Úva, and in general in the Disáwanies the Koṭṭal-badda was usually conferred on the Disáwa, who appointed a *Koṭṭal-baddé Vidáné*, sometimes a Smith and sometimes a Vellála.

The Koṭṭal-baddé smiths performed work for any building allotted to the Disáwany. Those of the Four and of the Seven Kóralés had to do any work whatsoever, equally with the Koṭṭal-badda of the districts within the mountains.\*

The Koṭṭal-badda of the Four Kóralés was typical of the rest. It consisted of the following artificers :—

“(1) Seven *Waḍuwó* or carpenters (under the orders of a headman called *Mulácháriyá* (e.g., *Liyana-waḍu Mulácháriyá*, *Hittara Mulácháriyá*), appointed by the king upon the Disáva's recommendation), who perform all carpentry work for the King or Disáva. They are usually employed at the *Dandumaḍuwa* in Kandy.

“(2) Five *Liyana-waḍuwó*, or turners.

“(3) Five *Hittaru* or painters.

“(4) Fourteen *Í-waḍuwó*, or arrow makers, under a headman called *Hangiḍiyá*. They manufacture and paint bows, arrows, spears, shafts, banner-staves, and walking-sticks, and two of them perform service in the *Ran-áwuda maṇḍapé*.

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\* *D'Oyly*.



"(5) Fourteen *Atapattukárayó*, who furnish or execute fine work, and are principally employed in ornamenting or inlaying locks, guns, knives, handles, &c., with gold, silver, or brass. Two of them perform service in the *Ran-áwuda mandapé*, under an *Atapattu Hangidiyá*.

"(6) Four *Baðallu* or silversmiths, under the orders of a *Muhandirama*, who perform any gold, silver, brass, or copper works: two of them perform service in the *Ran-áwuda mandapé*.

"(7) One *Gal-waḍuwá*, or stone cutter.

"(8) Twenty *Mura-ácháriyó*, or blacksmiths, under the orders of a *Hangidiyá* and *Atu-hangidiyá*. A certain number of them, varying according to the exigency of the service, attend constantly in Kandy, and erecting workshops near the Disáwa's house, execute all kinds of common ironwork, for which the metal is furnished to them.

"(9) Eight blacksmiths, without regular service lands, under the orders of a *Hangidiyá*, who appear before the Disáwa at the new year with a knife and scissors each, and are called to service only upon emergencies.

"(10) Ten Disáwé blacksmiths, under a *Hangidiyá*, who work for the Disáwa only.

"But these three classes of blacksmiths are sometimes placed under the same *Hangidiyá* and *Atu-hangidiyá*.

"All the above artificers, except the blacksmiths last-mentioned, perform either particular works directed by the king, or works belonging to public buildings allotted to the Disáwany, or any works required by the Disáwa."\*

Outside the Disáwanies, within the mountains each *raṭa* had its own *Koṭṭal-badda*, with its own petty headmen, and forming part of the *Uḍa-raṭa Koṭṭal-badda*.

Certain persons of the *Koṭṭal-badda* were attached to *Gaba-dágam*, e.g., the *Áchári* of *Vēwagama Tumpattu* in Seven *Kóralés*. There was also a *Koṭṭal-badda* under a *Baḍal Vidáné* attached to *Sabaragamu Mahá Saman Déwálé*, to which *Mudduwa* and *Nákandala* appertained.

## III.—THE PALACE.

1. The *Haļu-maṇḍapé* (Hall of the Robes) and *Ulpēn-gé* (Bathroom) were under the *Haļuwaḍana Nilamé* and *Diya-waḍana Nilamé* respectively. The *Ulpēn-gé* adjoined the *Haļu-maṇḍapé*, the King's usual apartment, a portion of which was known as the *Heṭapēna-gé* (Bedchamber,) under the *Mahá Heṭapēna-gé Muhandiram Nilamé*.

(a) *Heṭapēna-gé Aramudalé* (Treasury of the Bedchamber).—The *ran-kaduwa* or sword of state, and the *mahá toppi haļuwa* or hat of state, were kept in a *ran-kaḍu ābharana peṭṭiya*, or "chest of the golden sword ornament," in the *Haļu-maṇḍapé*. Here also, in charge of the *Heṭapēna-gé Lékam Mahatmayá*, assisted by a *Kankánama*, were kept the King's ordinary apparel and the jewels and ornaments in daily use in four or five boxes, which could not be opened except in the presence of both the *Diyawaḍana* and the *Haļuwaḍana Nilaméwaru*. The *daḷumura heppuwa*, or betel box, was kept in the *Heṭapēna-gé* by the *Paniwidakarana Nilamé*.

(b) *Ulpēn-gé Aramudalé* (Treasury of the Bathroom).—In this the greater part of the jewels, guns, and articles of the highest value were kept in charge of the *Ulpēn-gé Aramudalé Lékam Mahatmayá*, assisted by a *Kankánama*.

(c) *Ābharana Paṭṭalé* (Ornaments Workshop).—Attached to these two *Aramudalés* was a number of gold and silver-smiths, under the control of four *Mulácháriyó*, one from each of the four *Paṭṭal*† assisted by inferior headmen. These were properly under the orders of the *Diyawaḍana Nilamé* only; but when at the palace were obliged to obey those of the *Haļuwaḍana Nilamé* also.

The *Adigars* could not inflict corporal punishment on the *Mulácháriyó* and their subordinate headmen; nor could they be fined or imprisoned without the King's authority.\*

*Mahá Aramudalé* (Great Treasury).

2. A certain number of silversmiths of the *Badal-paṭṭalé* from *Maḍawala* in *Dumbara* and six or twelve from

\* *D'Oyly*—Board of Commissioners.

† See Section IV.—*Paṭṭal-hataré*.

Yaṭinuwara, called *Aramudalé baḍallu* (Treasury silversmiths), were attached to this department. Some of them were obliged to remain always in Kandy. They set up a workshop in the Palace, where they made and repaired silver, copper, and brass vessels of all kinds. They had to furnish works for the four festivals, for which the materials were supplied. In the *Ūva Lékammiṭiya* mention is made of *Aramudalé baḍallu* in that province.

*Ran Áwuda Maṇḍapé* (Golden Weapons Hall).

3. This department was in charge of the *Ran Áwuda Maṇḍapé Lékam Mahatmayá*, assisted by two *Kankánamrálalá* and forty-eight *Appuhámilá*, who carried the "golden weapons" when the king appeared in public. In it were kept the arms of the *Atapattu* and *Heṭapenagé Murakárayó* or guards, consisting of *waḍana tuwakku* or muskets, *ilukkola* or javelins, *súsa* or broad-headed spears, and *patishṭhána* or spears. The smiths attached to the department were, in the case of the Four Kóralés, the *Í-waḍuwó*, the *Atapattu-kárayó*, and the *Baḍallu* of the *Koṭṭal-badda*. Others were furnished by the various districts. The *Í-waḍuwó* of *Hapuvīda* in *Mátalé* and the *Atapattu Í-waḍu Hangiḍi* wasam people of *Yaṭawara* in *Dumbara* lacquered the handles of the spears and other weapons. The lacquer workers and the stone cutters were under the *Ran-áwuda Maṇḍapé Hangiḍiyá*.\*

*Áwuda-gé* (Armoury).

4. The *Áwuda-gé Waṇṇaku Nilamé*, assisted by two *Lékam Mahatmayó* and two *Kankánam Nilaméwaru*, was in charge of the armoury. Since the time of King Kírtti Śrī Rája Siṅha, twenty-four *Áchárí* of *Uḍapaláta* and *Kotmalé*, under a *Hangiḍiya*, were attached to the department. Ten, with the *Hangiḍiya*, were always on duty in rotation for twenty days at a time; and were employed in repairing, cleaning, and oiling the guns, of which there were about three thousand. They performed no other service.

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\* *Ellépola*, late *Maha Nilamé*, was their chief after the British accession.

When there was much hard work to be done, as at the building of the *Pattirippuwa*, or Octagon attached to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, they were placed under the *Koṭṭal-badda*.

#### IV.—PAṬṬAL-HATARÉ,\*

The royal gold or silver smiths formed a close corporation, known as the “*Paṭṭal-hataré*,” or the four workshops : all others being styled “*Gan-nawan minissu*” or village smiths.

It would appear that originally there was but one *Paṭṭalé*, known as the *Ābharana Paṭṭalé*. This was subsequently differentiated into—

- (1) *Ābharana Paṭṭalé* (Ornaments or Jewellery workshop) ;
- (2) *Oṭunu Paṭṭalé* (Crown workshop) ;
- (3) *Ran-kaḍu Paṭṭalé* (Golden sword workshop) ;
- (4) *Siṅhāsane Paṭṭalé* (Throne workshop).

The last included, in particular, painters and workers in ivory.

The present division of villages and families among the four *Paṭṭal* is more or less that existing in the last King's reign. But in ancient times the smiths appear to have passed from one *Paṭṭalé* to another, according to the work entrusted to them.

Four *Mulāchāriyó*, one from each *Paṭṭalé*, were in attendance at the Palace, and in common with the other chief officers of the *Paṭṭal-wasama* apparently wore the *tuppoṭṭiya* and *ispaiya*, a peaked hat with side flaps,† and later on the white round hat.

The smiths of the present day claim the privilege of the full dress for the headman of *Paṭṭal-wasama*. This is probably due to the modern assumption by every rank of the people of the dress of the rank above it ; though it is just possible that the tradition is true as regards headmen appointed by the king. It is certain that craftsmen in favour with the court received gifts of hats, jackets, and jewellery from the *Gabaḍāwa*, and *paṭaḍendi nam*, accompanied by the tying

\* Also called *Paṭṭal-wasama* or *Paṭṭal-badda*. (vide Section III., paragraph (c) ).

† See Knox. part III., chap. II., p. 133.

on the forehead of the *paṭatahaḍḍuwa*, or forehead plate, many examples of which are still extant. A tradition exists to the effect that the smith who made the crown was permitted to put it on his own head; just as the dhoby who makes the round white hat is allowed the same privilege.

The following were the *Pañcha Kakudhabhāṇḍaya* or Five

- Royal Insignia, as described by Eḥelēpola Adigár :—

- (1) *Hap-pāliha*, (shield of clank colour).
- (2) *Mutu-kuḍē*, (pearl umbrella).
- (3) *Ran-kaḍḍuwa*, (golden sword of state).
- (4) *Chāmaraya*, (chowrie or yak tail).
- (5) *Miriveḍi sangala*, (slippers).

These were exclusively reserved to the King.\*

The later Kings did not use the (6) *Oṭunna*, (crown), and (7) *Ūsnisapaṭiya* or fillet.

In place of the former they wore an eight-cornered hat. Rāja Siṅha II. used a four-cornered hat of gold.

In place of the latter they wore a gold *naḷalpaṭa* set with gems.†

In the list of royal insignia, as commonly received, the *ran-naḷalpaṭa* (gold forehead plate) is substituted for the *hap-pāliha* (shield).

## V.—PRINCIPAL VILLAGES OF THE PAṬṬAL-HATARÉ AND KOTṬALBADDA.

The ancient tradition is that Vikrama Báhu, King of Uḍa-raṭa, sent presents to the King of Jayawardhana Kóṭṭé and obtained from him “*Paṇḍitawaru*” to make the regalia for his coronation. He thereupon granted—(i.) to the maker of the crown, Ayagama in Yaṭinuwara and Yaṭatnáwa in Tum-pane; (ii.) to the makers of the *ran kaḍḍuwa*, Godagama of Gampola and Amunugama; (iii.) to the makers of the throne, Parakoṭavella and Deldeniya in Yaṭinuwara; and (iv.) to

\* Correspondence of the Board of Commissioners.

† But see “*Eḍeniyé Alaṅkáré*,” where mention is made of the *Ūsnisābharana* probably the same as *naḷalpaṭa*.

the makers of the *ran-naḷalpaṭa*, Walwásagoda or Wallahágoda in Uḍapaláta and Kurukuttala in Uḍunuwara.

This monarch may have been “Śrī Sénásampat Vikrama Báhu” of Kandy and Gampola, *circa* 1509 A.D., *sannas* of whom are extant.\*

The *Viḷaya Nítiya*, however, regards him as Vikrama Báhu III., who was King of Ceylon from 1356 to 1371 A.D. But in his reign there was no King at Koṭṭé.

The *Mulgam* of the Paṭṭal-wasama are :—

Ēldeniyā of the Rankaḍu Paṭṭalé ;  
Gannoruwa of the Ābharāṇa Paṭṭalé ;  
Kawuḍugama of the Siṅhásané Paṭṭalé ; and  
Maḍawala of the Oṭunu Paṭṭalé.

The actual *Paṭṭalé* villages are shown in capitals ; though in some cases their right to the name is doubtful : the rest are attached thereto by grants of land, migration, and marriage. These, with the exception of the *Nindagam*, belong to the Koṭṭal-badda.

### RAN-KAḌU PAṬṬALÉ.

#### RATA-HATA, UDUNUWARA.

##### *Ēldeniyā.*

1. *Sannasa*, 1685 Saka, (1763 A.D.), to Rájakaruná Déva suréndra Manuvíra Vikrama Siritkaḷalná Arasarāṇa Vichitra Chitra Karmánta Nermmita Sakala Silpatilaka Navaratna Mudali Dawuṇḍa Sippácháriyá, to replace a lost *ola sannasa* for lands in Wallahágoda of the Ābharāṇa *paṭṭala wasama* in Uḍapaláta, Siyambalágoda of Embekka, Rabbégomuwa, and Embekka of the *Ran-kaḍu paṭṭala wasama* in Uḍunuwara, Amunugama in Dumbara, and Aramavela and Monaragama in Four Kóralés, and for services in the Dutch war.

The Dévasuréndra Galladdalágé family is still in Embekka and Siyambalágoda.

2. *Paṭa-tahaḍuwa* to the same.

3. *Sannasa*, 1694 Saka, (1772 A.D.), to Ēldeniyé Rájakaruná Manu Vikrama Arasarāṇa Sarāṇa Navaratna Dawuṇḍa

\* See Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, pp. 339, 688, 757.

Sippácháriya, granting land in Keṭṭápahuwa in Mágul Kóralé of the Seven Kóralés.

4. *Sannasa*, 1712 Saka, (1790 A.D.), giving the Uḍa-paláta Kotmalé Koṭṭal-baddé Hangiliwasama and lands in Kurukuttala, Nawangama in Kotmalé and elsewhere, for making the *maha rankaḍu ábharané* or sword of state, to Eldeniyé Rájakaruná Déwasuréndra Manuwíra Vikrama Siritkaralná Vichitra Chitra Karmánta Nermmita Sakala Silpatilaka Navaratna Mudali Dawuṇḍa Sippácháriyá.

5. *Sannasa*, 1725 Saka, (1803 A.D.), to Eldeniyé Rájakaruná Déwasuréndra Manuvíra Vikrama Siritkaralná Arasarāṇa Śrī Dantadhātu Makaradhwaja Bhuvaneka Báhu Déva-nárayana Abhiséka Vijayasinha Vichitra Chitra Karmánta Nermmita Sakala Silpatilaka Navaratna Mudali Dawuṇḍa Sippácháriya, for services during the English disturbances, granting lands in Deldeniya, Kotaligoda, Mamudawela, and Doḍanwela in Yaṭinuware, and Goḍagama in Uḍa-paláta.

6. *Eldeniyé Alankáre*. A poem in which the praises of the recipient of the above *sannasa* are sung. For making an *úsnísá-bharāṇa* he received an elephant, and also a chain and *kamisa-heṭṭé* for constructing a curious *pēṭēi-sútra*, or water clock. He was appointed over the Koṭṭal-badda of Denuwara, Uḍa-paláta, Kotmalé, Hárispattu, Tumpané, Dumbara Pansiyapattu, and Héwáheṭa, and over the Koṭṭal-badda of the *gabaḍagam* of the Four and Seven Kóralés, Úva, Mátalé, Walapané, Sabaragamuwa, the Three Kóralés, and the Páta-raṭa. In a contest between the Koṭṭal-badu of Uḍa-raṭa and Páta-raṭa, the *bondikkulá*, or cannon, of the former stood the test when fired, while that of the low-country exploded. The *Sippácháriyá* was rewarded with a *kastáné* sword. In all he received seven titles.

7. *Eldeniyé Tuḍapata*.—A version of the “*Rájaratná-karaya*” interpolated with notices of the Smith caste. With Vijaya came five *Pañcha Karmánta Weḍakárayó*, including Sirit-ponkaralná Arasarāṇa Téwa-nárayāṇa Viswakuladéva-putrayá.

With the Bó Tree came eight of each caste ; of the Smith caste were Sirit-karalná Radala, Sirit-lena Radala, Sirit-nárayāṇa

Radala, Sirit-abhiséka Radala, Mahá Nekat Radala, Sirit-manuvikrama Radala, and their chief Vidya Chakrawartṭi Paṇḍita Radala, who made the crown. Vijaya Nárāyaṇa Vijendra, Virabandu, Virapurandara, Vijayasundara, and Vijayawardhana, descendants of those who came with Vijaya, married the descendants of the women of the Viswakula who came with his Pāṇḍiyan queen. King Dewenipētissa gave them Walagambáhugama. For all the Kings till the arrival of the Tooth Relic the crown was made by the Smiths of the Sirit *paramparāwa*.

That of King Parākrama Báhu was made by Ábó Paṇḍitayá. In process of time, none of his descendants were left save one woman and a girl aged seven years. Mahaḷu Parākrama Báhu called together the Smiths: they could do nothing and were put to shame. He, thereupon, consulted Dharmma Alaṅkāra Vijaya Bá Piruwan Terunnánsé and his ministers, and offered a reward to discover the descendants of the Smiths who came with the Bó Tree. The woman came forward, and made the regalia. Afterwards her son, aged five years, was entrusted at the royal command to the Terunnánsé, and on completing his education was given the name of Ábó Paṇḍitayá. He and his decendants made the regalia for the Poḷonnaruwa Kings.

Under King Pandita Parākrama Báhu of Dambadeniya, Rájasékara Paṇḍitayá obtained Kaḍadora, Vidurupola, Wal-deniya, Dehimaduwa, Uḍattuwa, Aragoda, and Arama, besides slaves and an elephant. The descendants of Siritkaralná Paṇḍitayá made the regalia for Parākrama Báhu, and were given Ayagama, Yaṭatnáwa, Parakoṭawella, Kurukuttala, Embekka, Godagama, and Wallahágoda.

Under the Kings Vijaya Rája Siṅha, Kírṭti Śrí Rája Siṅha, and Rájádhirája Siṅha flourished Eldeniyé Sippácháriyá, who was given the Uḍa-raṭa Koṭṭal-badda and those of the four Mahá Disáwanies and three *nindagam*. He made the *ran-kaḍu ābharané*, possessed as *paravēni* property Wanawásagoda (Wallahágoda), Godagama, Embekka, Kurukuttala, Eldeniya, and Arama, and held the Koṭṭal-badda of Uḍa-paláta.\*

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\* This Koṭṭal-badda was perhaps that employed in the *Awuda-gé*. D'Oyly mentions Eldeniyé Nayidé as its chief.



8. An abbreviated version of *Ēldeniyé Tudapata*. Kādadora and the other villages are said to have been given to Rājasékara Paṇḍitayā by Mahālu Parākrama Bāhu, while the grant of those including Ayagama is attributed to Uḍa-raṭa Vikrama Bāhu. It ends with account of Ēldeniyé Rājakarunā Dévasuréndra Manuvīra Vikrama Siritkaralnā Arasarana Sakala Silpatilaka Vijayasundara Navaratna Mudali Dawuṇḍa Sippāchāriyā, and the family history has been brought up to date.

9. *Gal Sannasa* (1344 A.D.), of Lanḱātilaké Viharé in Uḍunuwara,\* interpolated with the names of the chief workmen. These are—Puspadéva Nārāyaṇa, Heḍa Hittara Āchāri, Puspadéva Suréndra, Dévanārāyaṇa, and Somanārāyaṇa. Of these, the second obtained land in Ēdeniya. Seven generations of his descendants are given, the last being Navaratna Mudali Dawuṇḍa Sippāchāriyā.

*Ēmbekka* (see Ēdeniya). Déwasuréndra Galladdālagé family.

*Hiddawulla*.—Extinct (*vide* Maḍawala).

*Kurukuttala*.—Given to the Ābharana Paṭṭalé by Vikrama Bāhu. Closely connected with Nilawala and Gannōruwé Pahalagedara. Ēldeniyé Sippāchāriyā held lands here (see Ēdeniya).

1. *Sannasa*, 1630 Saka, (1708 A.D.), to Kurukuttala Ratna Mudali Dawuṇḍa Ābharana Āchāriyā for making the *toppi haḷuwa*, or state hat. One of his sons of the same name was Muhandiram of Raṭa-hata, and another Muhandiram of the twenty-four pattu (Ihala and Pahala Dolos Pattu) of the Seven Kóralés.

2. *Sannasa*, 1682 Saka, (1760 A.D.), to Kurukuttala Mudali Dawuṇḍa Ābharana Āchāriyā for making the *toppi haḷuwa*, confirming his *paravēni* lands at Kurukuttala and elsewhere.

### HÁRISPATTU.

*Attaragama*.—Vijéndragedara Vijendra Galladdā is traditionally said to have received this village from Vijaya.

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\* See R. A. S. Journal, vol. X., No. 34 of 1887, p. 83, and Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, p. 753. The existence of a Tamil version of the *sannasa* at the Viharé tends to prove that the workmen were from Southern India.

## FOUR KÓRALÉS.

*Kumbaldiwela*.—Not originally belonging to the Paṭṭalwasama. The family name is Rájakaruná Abhayasundara Vira-nárayana Dawuṇḍa Muláchárigé; connected with Utuwana.

*Mahagoḍa*.—This village is a *nindagama* (see Delmaḍa and Maṅgalagama).

*Maṅgalagama*.—Connected with Delmaḍa, and also with Nilawala, Eldeniya, Gannóruwa, Utuwana, Okandapola, &c.

1. *Ola sannasa*, 1566 Saka, (1644 A.D.), giving land at Mahágoḍa to Maṅgalagama Baḍal Handu Nayidá for making a gold *koku-sword*.

2. *Ola sannasa*, 1580 Saka, (1658 A.D.), appointing the son of Lettan Ácháriyá of Kalubóvila, in Salpiṭi Kóralé, Koṭṭalbaddé Vidané of the Four and Three Kóralés.

3. *Vitti Patraya*.—King Bhuvaneka Báhu (? VI.) of Kóṭṭé heard that a famous Mulácháriyá had landed from Dambadiwa at Mánadúwa, and sent Waḍuwáwala Déwasinha Muláchári Nayidé (see Waḍuwáwala and Gamṁennagoḍa) on an elephant to fetch him likewise mounted to Kóṭṭé. When brought before the king he presented him with an *ira sanda balana kannáḍiya*, or telescope, and a *pēteti sútraya*, or clock. He was thereupon granted the village of Maṅgalagama and the title of Maṇḍalawalli Nayidé.

The King residing at Ambuḷugala (? Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII.) asked if there were any descendants of Maṇḍalawalli Nayidé, and on being informed that there were two orphan children, aunt and nephew, had them brought to Ambuḷugala. The girl was placed in the Dugganna Wásala, and the boy in the Mahá Gabadáwa. When grown up they were ordered to marry each other. The girl refused, but under threat of torture and of being ripped open consented, and was given Maṅgalagama, to be held in succession in the female line with the title of Etaná.

Afterwards a grandson of Maṇḍalawalli Nayidé was granted the same title by Rája Sinha of Sítáwaka. The Etaná's daughter, Punchihámi Náchchiré, married Koḷomba Nayidé, who served King Rája Sinha II. She possessed the village,

and after her her son Meḍduma Nayidé, who served Vimala Dharma Súriya II. His son Gallat Nayidé succeeded and served King Naréndra Siṅha of Kuṇḍasálé. From him the writer Meḍduma Nayidé obtained the village; no one else is entitled thereto. He prays that the dispute may be investigated by the officers of the Court and the Mahá Nilamé.\*

## SEVEN KÓRALÉS.

### *Horambáwa.*

Connected with Ókandapola, Maṅgalagama, &c. The village ancestor is said to have come with Vijaya.

*Ola sannasa*, 1674 Saka, (1752 A.D.), to Horambáwé Áchá-riyá, giving lands in Heḍipannala of Kaṭugampola and Malan-deniya of Willi Kóralé.

*Mutugala*.—Connected with Ókandapola. Extinct.

*Suruṭṭuwa* (now at Ókandapola).—The same story is given as in the *Buḷumullé suruṭṭuwa*, including the flight to Héwá-heṭa. At Hanguranketa Don Dimingu Nayidé made a *daḷu mura heppuwa*, or betel box, and received lands at Múnamalé in Seven Kóralés. He did work for the king at Kandy, and got Uḍukédeniya. Under Rája Siṅha II. his son Kattiliyan Nayidé decorated a gold *karaṇḍuwa*, and was given land at Mutugala. His son Uyan Nayidé refused service, which was undertaken by his cousin, who received the ancestral lands from the king and lived at Mutugala.

### *Okandapola.*

The family Karuṇá Wásala Paṇḍita Ratna Mudali Paṭa Dawuṇḍa Muláchárigé, also Rájakarūṇá Wásala Paṇḍita Ratnatilaka Mudali Dawuṇḍa Áchárigé, is connected with Horambáwa, Kalahógedara, Maṅgalagama, Utuwana, El-deniya, and Gannóruwa. The village ancestor is said to have come with Vijaya.

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\* *Vide* Mr. H. C. P. Bell's Report on the Kégalla District, p. 98, where it is considered as the settlement of the dispute, mentioned in the Maṅgalagama *vitti-patraya*.

*Siyambalá-vehera*.—Act of appointment by Pilima Talawuwé (junior), Disáwa of Seven Kóralés, in favour of the son of Siyambalá-vehera Galladdá as Muhandiram of the Koṭṭal-baddé villages in Mágul and Uḍapola Kóralés. Connected with Ókandapola.

### MÁTALÉ.

*Niyarépola*.—The title of Niyarépola Baḍal Mudiyaṇsé was conferred on Baḍalgé Appu Naidé for apprehending the Pretender in 1848. The family Niyarépola Baḍal Mudiyaṇselágé is of Márukona.

*Paldeniya*.—According to the *Mátalé Mahá Disáwé Kaḍaim Pota*, Hittará Ácháriyá who came with the Bó Tree settled here.

### UḌAPALÁTA.

*Goḍagama*.—In this village was situated the *Ran-kot Máli-gáwa*, “golden pinnacled palace,” of the Gampola kings. The village was given by King Vikrama Báhu to the Ran-kaḍu Paṭṭalé, but no longer belongs to the Paṭṭal-wasama. Eldeniyé Sippácháriyá had land here.

### *Kawuḍupitiya.*

*Vide* D'Oyly, on Uḍa-paláta.

### ÁBHARAṆA PAṬṬALÉ.

### RATA-HATA, UḌUNUWARA.

#### *Delmaḍa.*

1. *Ola sannasa*, 1630 Saka, (1708 A.D.), to Biyagama Vijayawardhana Ácháriyá, granting lands in Aludeniya Gabaḍagama belonging to Kirindé Liyana Nayidé, for services rendered.

2. *Ola sannasa*, 1639 Saka. (1717 A.D.), appointing Biyagama Maṇḍalawalli Ácháriyá as Koṭṭal-baddé Vidáné of Mátalé, for mounting the stock of a *waḍana tuwakkuwa* or ceremonial gun with gold.

3. *Ola sannasa*, 1673 Saka, (1751 A.D.), granting lands at Delmaḍa to Biyagama Vijayawardhana Déwa-naráyana Ácháriyá, for inscribing discourses of Buddha in a book of gold.

4. *Ola sannasa*, 1703 Saka, (1781 A.D.), to Biyagama Vijaya-wardhana Déwa-naráyana Ácháriyá, for making a sword.

Biyagama is in Siyané Kóralé, and was built by Rája Siṅha I. In the *Hí Lékammitiya*.—Déwéndra Mulácháriyá.

#### *Wannipola.*

*Sannasa* of Śirí Sangha Bó Sénásammata Vikrama Báhu (of Udarata, circa 1509 A.D.?) granting lands in Wannipola to Áchárilla Dityaya and Siwanta Dityaya for painting images of Buddha on two sheets of cloth.

In the *Hí Lékammitiya*.—Muhandiram and Káttáwaḍu Mulácháriyá.

#### YAṬINUWARA.

*Buḷumulla*.—The ancestors of the smith families of Bulumulla, Godapola, and Gannóruwa (Kamatagedara) were brothers.

*Suruttuwa* (cf. Mutugala).—Parákrama Báhu of Kótté inquired who could make a *karaṇḍuwa* for the Tooth Relic. Ponparappu made it, and also a *malpiyuma*, or lotus flower. When asked the name of the *malpiyuma*, he replied "*pálápetta*," and was granted the *paṭabendi* name of Śrī Dantadhátu Makaradhwaḷa Parákrama Pāṇḍi Ácháriyá. His village was called Pálámé. He obtained two villages in Wagapanaha Kóralé in Mátalé, and two in Seven Kóralés. Under King Rája Siṅha he and his three children migrated to Sítáwaka. His son was granted the name of Dawuṇḍa Ácháriyá and lived in Seven Kóralés. The latter under King Vimala Dharmma Súriya repaired a gold pinnacle, in memory of the feast of giving rice to the infant Mahásthana who died at Velimuwantota, celebrated by the King and the Princes Vidiyé Adahasin and Déwameḍḍé Adahasin of Seven Kóralés, and was given land at Buḷumulla. He was afterwards summoned by the King, but as he was aged sent his nephews, who put a gold pinnacle on Mahiyangana Dágaba. When in the reign of Senevirat the Portuguese came to Denuwara, they fled to Dehipé in Héváheṭa : here they got land, when the Kings were at Hanguranketa. Pálágama Ponnayidé made a silver *kannāḍi kúḍuwa*, or spectacle case, and *daḷumura heppuwa* or betel box, and was given land at Toṭilladeniya. This he gave away and returned to Buḷumulla.

He then made a *malruka* (flower tree) for the Tooth Relic, and received an elephant. The document ends with an account of the refusal of Ponnayidé's son and his cousin, under Rája Siṅha II., to continue their service, which was undertaken by the writer Punchi Nayidé.

*Danture.\**—Anciently Dantapura-nuwara. Smiths from Gannóruwa. *Vide* Ayagama.

*Gannóruwa.*

Also styled Pálágama. The part of the village inhabited by the smiths is called *Ábharana gammedda*.

For the early family history see *Bulumullé Suruttuwa*. It was subsequently divided into three branches :—

- (1) Kamata-gedara or Uḍa-gedara :
- (2) Pálágama-gedara or Alutgama-gedara :
- (3) Pahala-gedara or Pallé-gedara.

1. Brass *paṭa-tahaḍuwa* granted to Alutgamagedara Mulácháriyá.

2. *Ola sannasa*, 1632 Saka, (1710 A.D.), granting land to Gannóruwé Navaratna Dawuṇḍa Ábharana Ácháriyá.

Under King Kírtti Śrī Rája Siṅha, Uḍagedara Gannóruwé Loku Muhandiram worked in the palace. The King gave him lands and an elephant. He erected Gaṅgárāma Viháre.

3. *Sannasa*, 1674 Saka, (1752 A.D.), to Ábharana Ácháriyá Loku Muhandirama for painting the image at Gaṅgárāma.

He is said to have set the toe nails of Kírtti Śrī Rája Siṅha with gems while he slept. His successor King Śrī Rájádhirája Siṅha was informed that Gannóruwé Muhandirama had died possessed of much royal property. This was seized and removed to the Treasury.†

Loku Muhandirama's brother was Alutgama Muhandirama ; he received a—

4. Brass *sannasa*, shaped like the side of the royal hat, for making the *mahá toppi haḷuwa* or hat of state. It is inscribed  
 ශ්‍රී දේවමහමෙව දෙවමදුල සන්තසි. “Hail ! The *sannasa* granted for Alijagama (Alutgama) village.”‡

\* A quite modern inscription of 40 lines professes to relate the history of the place.—B. *Ed. Sec.*

† Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, vol. I., p. 277. ‡ Now in the Kandy Museum.

## HÁRISPATTU.

*Werellagama*.—Nayidé Patabendá received a *paṭa-taḥaḍuwa* from King Śrī Wikrama Rájasiṅha.

## DUMBARA.

*Alutgama*.

Extinct (*vide* Gannóruwa).

*Amunugama*.—Extinct (*see* Eldeniya). In the time of King Vikrama Báhu this village was given to the Ran-kaḍu Paṭṭalé.

*Uḍispattuwa*.—Nílalagedara Lókurugedara, connected with Nílawala, *q. v.*

## HĒWÁHĒTA.

*Nílawala*.—This is a *nindagama*.

The Nílawala people are connected with Kurukuttala and Maṅgalagama. Their ancestor was one Nílanáranayá. His brother Paramanáyá settled at Hiddawulla and obtained lands at Maḍawala (*q. v.*) from King Parákrama Báhu VI., and another brother went to Uḍispattuwa. All were Dravidian.

1. *Heṇḍuwa*, or elephant goad, and *akussa*, a large but short goad fastened on to the elephant's head, given to Kirun-gappu by King Rája Siṅha II. (*see* *Suruṭṭuwa*).

2. *Ola sannasa*, 1675 Saka, (1753 A.D.), to Nílawala Ratnawalli Navaratna Ábharanayá.

3. *Sannasa*, 1677 Saka, (1755 A.D.), to the same, for inscribing a portion of the *Saddharmaya* on gold plates.

4. *Sittuwa*, 1685 Saka, (1763 A.D.), to Nílawala Loku Naidé by Pallé Mahá Wásala Loku Náyaka Hámuduruwó, to settle a land dispute between him and his younger brother.\*

5. *Sannasa*, 1708 Saka, (1786 A.D.), to Śrī Dantadhātu Makaradhwaḥa Parákrama Arasarāṇa Sawuttári Swarṇa-tilaka Navaratna Mudali Dawuṇḍa Ábharāṇa Ácháriyá; giving lands in Wallahágoda of Uḍapaláta, Meḍḍégodaḥwela of Uḍunuwara, Gannóruwa of Yaṭinuwara, and Alijjama (*Alutgama*) of Dumbara, for making the *mahá ran-kaḍu ábharané*, or sword of state.

6. *Suruṭṭuwa*. Ratnawalli Ábharāṇa Ácháriyá lived under Kings Rája Siṅha I. and Vímala Dharmma Súriya I.; his son,

\* Report on the Kegalla District, p. 98.

Kirungappu, was granted lands and elephants by King Senerat, and a hat, shirt, and other presents by “Rásin” (Rája Siṅha II.); his son, Hittará Kutti, served Vímala Dharmma Súriya II.; his son, Nayidé, had a minor son, Kapurappu, in whose time an elephant was taken by one Datuwá. At that time (King Vijaya Rája Siṅha) Hanguranketa was the capital. Galagoḍa Disáwa took a land by force and Hindagoḍa Maḍappu Nilamé another. Kapurappu’s son, Appu, complained to King Rájádhirája Siṅha and got back his lands; but again in the time of his son Kalu Naidé, Galagoḍa Nilamé seized the land. The writer prays that the Mahá Nilaméwaru of Siṅhalé and the English Governors may investigate the grievance.

#### FOUR KÓRALÉS.

*Utuwana*.—Connected with Maṅgalagama, Kumbatdiwela, Eldeniya, Gannóruwa, Horambáwa, Kalahógedara, and Ókandapola. Not originally belonging to the Paṭṭal-wasama.

*Vékoladeniya* (see Gammeṇnagoḍa *Suruṭṭuwa*).

1. Copper *sannasa* to Rájakaruná Nallaperumál Paṇḍita Ácháriyá, 1331 Saka, (1419 A.D.), for building Ambulugalanuvara.

2. *Ola sannasa*, 1679 Saka, (1757 A.D.), to Rájakaruná Vijaya-naráyana Tilakaratna Ácháriyá, for presenting a gold mounted sword.

#### MÁTALÉ.

*Márukona*.

*Vide Moṭṭuwela* and Niyarépolá.

*Síṭṭuwa*, 1653 Saka, (1731 A.D.), to Márukona Ábharāṇa Ácháriyá.

*Míwaladeniya*.—Parapiṭiyé Baḍal Muhandirama after the British accession.

In the *Hí Lékammiṭiya*.—Yálégoḍa Mulácháriyá.

*Moṭṭuwela*.—*Sannasa*, 1587 Saka, (1665 A.D.), granting land in Moṭṭuwela to Márukona Ratna Ábharāṇa Veḍakárayá for making jewellery for the King’s dress.\*

A Moṭṭuwela Baḍal Muhandirama was a favourite of the late king.

*Parapiṭiya* (see *Míwaladeniya*).

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\* A forgery.



## SEVEN KÓRALÉS.

*Kēṭāpahuwa* (see *Ēldeniya*).

## UḌAPALÁTA.

*Wallahágoḍa* or *Walwásagoḍa*.—Given to the Ābharāṇa Paṭṭalé by King Vikrama Báhu. The family is apparently of Pāṇḍiyan descent, and is connected with Gannóruwa. See also *Ēldeniya*.

*Sannasa*, 1726 Saka, (1804 A.D.), to Atasawuttári Kóṭṭēnuwarāṭa telú Vīa Dawuṇḍa Ratnābharāṇa Muhandiram Sippāchāriyá.

## SIṄHÁSANĒ PAṬṬALĒ.

## RATA-HATA, UḌUNUWARA.

*Arattana* (Aḷuviharé). See Kawuḍugama.

*Arattana*.—In the time of King Vikrama Báhu of Gampola, Tennakón Mudiyanisé of Arattana was executed for abusing Princess Henakanda Bisó Baṇḍára. The village was given to artificers brought from Dewundara (Dondra), Aḷuviharé, Ekiriya, &c., and was attached to the Siṅhásané Paṭṭalé. King Rájádhirāja Siṅha brought people from Arattana to build Búweḷikaḍa Nuwara; among them was Dewundara *alias* Déwéndra Muláchāriyá. He was the builder of the Audience Hall in Kandy. The legend current in Kandy is that the chiefs who furnished timber complained to the king that the Muláchāriyá shortened, and then rejected, the beams brought. The king thereupon threatened to cut off the fingers of the offender, who, to avoid the disgrace, threw himself into the lake. He also took part in the construction of the Octagon. He obtained the following:—

1. *Sannasa*, 1703 Saka, (1781 A.D.), to Dingitta Appu (Déwéndra Muláchāriyá) granting lands in Arattana. Two years afterwards, 1705 Saka, the same lands were given to Jayavírawardhana Áchāriyá of Aḷuviharé of Arattana. The former *sannasa* was sustained by the Judicial Commissioner's Court.

2. *Sannasa*, 1708 Saka, (1786 A.D.), to Déwéndra Muláchāriyá.

3. *Paṭa-taḥaḍuwa*, to the same person.

The *riyan lēlla*, or cubit measure, of the *Mulácháriyá* of iron with a silver inlaid lion at either end is in the possession of *Goḍapola Galladdá*. His son *Déwasinḥa Mulácháriyá* obtained *Kawuḍugama*. A jacket of white silk embroidered with flowers, together with a *bóralé* of eight branches, said to have been given to him, is in the possession of the *Embēkka* people.

In the *Hí Lēkammiṭiya*.—*Déwendra Mulácháriyá*, *Jaya-wardhana Nayidé*, *Déwendra Nayidé*, *Aḷuviharé Mulácháriyá*.

*Goḍapola* (see *Buḷumulla* and *Gannóruwa*).—The following *paṭabēndi nama* was granted to a smith of this village :—

*Rájakaruná Kóttē-nuwara Bhuvanéka Báhu Mahá Wásadāṭa Paṭa telú Vijaya Sinḥa Śrī Dantadhātu Makaradhwaḷa Bhuvanéka Báhu Mánika Karma Swarṇṇa Karma Tilaka Paṭasawuttári Mudali Dawuṇḍa Navaratnawalli Ábharanáchári*.

His ancestor must have served *Bhuvanéka Báhu VI.* (1464–1471 A.D.) or *Bhuvanéka Báhu VII.* (1534–1540), Kings of *Kóttē*. The grandson (?) of the *Ábharanáchári* was *Koṭṭal baddé Hittara Mulácháriyá* of *Uḍunuwara* in 1861 A.D., and was styled *Goḍapola Galladdáláyēgedara Chitra Vichitrá Makaradhwaḷa Parákrama Vijendra Loku Appu Galladdá*.

This village belonged to the *Ábharana Paṭṭalé*, and afterwards to the *Ran-kaḍu Paṭṭalé*. *Kumburégedara* people from *Ullaṇḍupiṭiya* having settled here, it is now attached to the *Sinḥasané Paṭṭalé*. Now *Hittaru*.

#### YATINUWARA.

*Deldeniya*.—Given by King *Vikrama Báhu* to the *Sinḥasané Paṭṭalé*. Mention of the following *paṭabēndi nama* :—

*Bhuvanéka Báhu Puspadēwa Náráyana Abhiséka Vichitra Chitra Silpácháriya, Hittara Mulácháriya*.

*Eldeniye Silpácháriyá* held land here.

*Parakoṭawēlla*.—Given to this *Paṭṭalé* by *Vikrama Báhu*. Now extinct.

#### HÁRISPATTU.

*Embulpuré*.—*Hittaru* connected with *Ullaṇḍupiṭiya*, *Hulan-gomuwa*, and *Waḍuwáwala*. Under the *Gampola* Kings it

belonged to the Oṭunu; under the Kótté sovereigns to the Rankaḍu; and since Kuṇḍasāle Rāja to the Siṅhásané, Paṭṭalé.

*Hingulwala*.—Hittaru. These people have now migrated to Ullaṇḍupitiya. Mention of Hingulwala Muhandiram, 1689 and 1734 Saka, and of Hingulwala Mułáchariyá in 1687, 1720, and 1751 Saka.

*Ullaṇḍupitiya*.—Hittaru. There were two families :—

1. Vedágedara.—Vedágedara Mułáchariyá did service to the Bétgé and Koḍituwakku departments.\*

2. Kumburégedara (*vide* Goḍapola).

*Sannasa*, 1515 Saka, (1593 A.D.), granting land in the village to Rájésvara Hittara Áchariyá of Ullaṇḍupitiya, for completing the Jétawanárāma. It was produced in a lawsuit between the members of the Gannórudeniya family (Márukona, Maṅgalagama, Nílawala, and Gannóruwa).

The following *paṭabendi nama* was conferred on a smith of this village by King Naréndra Siṅha, for ivory work :—

Ullaṇḍupitiyē Rájakaruṇá Dévanaráyana Bódhipaksha Vichitra Chitra Śrī Dantadhātu Makaradhwaḡa Bhuvanēka Báhu Abhisēka Dantasīṅha Paṇḍitaratna Laṅká-náyaka Mahánāma Mułáchariyá.†

In 1704 Saka, (1782 A.D.), Kumburégedara Mułáchari Nayidé dedicated land to the rock image of Buddha in the Gónigoda Gaḡané Viharé.

The Daładá Máligáwa has a Hittara *paṅguwa* here.

*Warakágoḍa*.—Warakágoḍa Mułáchariyá constructed buildings in Búweḡikaḍa in the late king's time (*see* Rambukvēlla).

## DUMBARA.

*Rambukvēlla* (Uḍa Dumbara).—The carriage of the last King of Kandy was made by Aḷuviharé Mułáchariyá and Warakágoḍa Naidé, both of this village.

For Aḷuviharé *vide* Arattana.

\* See Section VIII., under Mułáchariyá, Hittaru.

† See Goḍapola for note on Bhuvanēka Báhu.

## FOUR KÓRALÉS.

*Kawuḍugama sannasa*, 1730 Saka, (1808 A.D.), to (Arattana Dévëndragedara) Dévasiṅha Mulácháriyá, Koṭṭalbaddé Vidané of Ūva, and other districts. He was the son of Dévendra Mulácháriyá of Arattana. Connected with Waḍuwáwala and Arattana.

*Gammennagoḍa*.—*Suruṭṭuwa* (now at Ókandapola). Extinct. The King residing at Ganéṭenné Nuwara entrusted the building of Alutnuwara Déwálé to an artificer and rewarded him with lands at Vékoladeniya, Utuwana, Arama, and elsewhere. When the temple again required repair, Hérat Mudiyaṅsé produced the artificer's son before the King at Kótté; he received Gammennagoḍa. He was ordered to ally himself with the smiths of Waḍuwáwala, who had landed at Mánadúwa and got a *sannasa*. He then built Wákirigala Viháré; and was given the title of Rájakaruná Abésundara Wiranáraya Dawuṇḍa Ácháriyá and Mulácháriyá. His son Krishnappu allied himself with the Maṇḍalawalli Nayidés of Maṇḍalagama: his brother Kaḷu Nayidé fled the country with his wife, fearing harm. The Mulácháriyá and Krishnappu were concealed by Hérat Mudiyaṅsé. On the King inquiring for him, the Mudiyaṅsé produced the Mulácháriyá, who built a two-storied house and received a *sannasa* for Gammennagoḍa.

The brother of the founder of the Maṇḍalagama family settled here (*see* Maṇḍalagama, Vékoladeniya, Utuwana, Waḍuwáwala).

*Waḍuwáwala.*

Waḍuwáwala Déva-siṅha Muláchári Nayidé was sent by King Bhuvanéka Báhu of Kótté to bring the ancestor of the Maṇḍalagama family from Mánadúwa (*vide* Maṇḍalagama *vittipatraya*). The ancestor of this family also landed at Mánadúwa (*vide* Gammennagoḍa *Suruṭṭuwa*). The ancient family is extinct: that now there is connected with Embulpuré, Ullaṇḍupitiya, Hulangomuwa, and Kawuḍugama.

Copper *sannasa*, 1685 Saka, (1763 A.D.), to Waḍuwáwala Vijayawardhana Déva-siṅha Mulácháriyá, for service rendered and to replace a lost *sannasa*.

## SEVEN KÓRALÉS.

*Tantirigama*.—Now extinct. *Nindagama*.

*Sittuwa*, 1664 Saka, (1742 A.D.), to the Uḍasgiriya Navaratna Ābharana Āchāri Nayidélā from Balagallé Vikramasīṅha Mudiyānsé Rālahāmi, Diyawaḍana Nilamé.

The holder paid a *massa* (about 8*d.*) yearly to the Daḷadā Māligāwa, as the village was given to the Tooth Relic by the Kurunégala kings.

## MÁTALÉ.

*Gurulawela* (see *Migaspiṭiya*).—Bhuvanēka Báhu Déva-nārayana Sittara Mulāchāriyā worked at Gaṅgārāma.

*Hulangomuwa*.—The legend is that Hulangomuwé Rājapaksha Bhāgottara Sittara Mohoṭṭāla held eighteen offices, including those of Halu-maṇḍape Lékam and Disāwa of Ānaolondéwa, Munṇéssaram, and Puttalam; and that his *sannasa* was inscribed on the same rock as those of the eighteen walawwas of Hulangomuwa. He is said to have gained the royal favour by pointing out a suitable site for a city. The story refers to Hulangomuwé Hittará Nayidé, to whom King Kirtti Śrī Rāja Siṅha gave an elephant in 1674 Saka, 1752 A.D. One tush is in existence, inscribed :—

කෙරුනු වජ්ජිමෙහි එකාදහස්සයිය හැනනහතරට පැමිනි අභිරතමිවු  
මෙම වජ්ජිමෙහි සුඛසුඛභාවංගාභිජානකිසේ විහාරවිඤ්ඤ සභාවසුඤ්ඤ ධර  
මඤ්ඤ කිකිති ශ්‍රීත්තාඤ්ඤ කිකිති ශ්‍රී රජසිංහ මහවාසලින් හුලංගොමුවෙ  
හිකරනසිඤ්ඤ දෙව්විදුල අලිතාමෙ දලසි.

This is the tush of the elephant granted to the Hittara Nayidé of Hulangomuwa by the Mahā Wāsala Kirtti Śrī Rāja Siṅha, born of the pure solar race, endowed with renown, perfect like a jasmine flower, excellent, the seat of valour, possessed of fame and prosperity, in the year of Śaka Rāja 1674, named Aṅgīra.

The elephant was in all probability the reward for the Nayidé's work in Alutgama Vihāré in the Asgiri Uḍasiya Pattuwa of Mátalé. At the command of Pinnapáyé Disāwa of Mátalé he constructed an image of Buddha for the Vihāré. This was shown to the King and he obtained a present. The festival of setting in the eyes took place in 1672 Saka, (1750 A.D.)\*

\* See Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, I. p. 22.

Mention of Hittaragé Rabbāḍa Hittara Unneḥé, 1714 Saka, (1792 A.D.) Hittara Nayidé's *kasaw* belt and *tuppottiya* still exist.

*Mígaspiṭiya*.—*Ola sannasa*, 1610 Saka, (1688 A.D.), granting land at Gurulavela belonging to Nugapiṭiyé Nayidé to Mígaspiṭiyé Samana Mantri Ácháriyá of Kanangama. This village belonged originally to the Rankaḍu Paṭṭalé, but since the reigns of Kirtti Śrī Rāja Siṅha and Śrī Vikrama Rāja Siṅha to the Siṅhásané.

### *Nilagama.*

Hittaru.—Tradition says that the village was settled by Bódhi-paṭṭalamé Mulácháriyá who came with the Bó Tree (*Mátalé Mahá Disáwé Kaḍaim Pota*).

1. *Ola sannasa*, 1677 Saka, (1755 A.D.), to Nilagama Bhuvanéka Báhu Hittará, for repairing the image of Buddha in the Rangiri Dambulu Viháre, granting nine amunams of land.

2. *Paṭa-tahaḍuwa* to the same. This smith was known as Loku Paṭabendá. He executed the decorations of Dambulla Viháre, a full description of which is given in the *tuḍapata* (below); assisted in that of Gaṅgárāma; painted the portraits of King Kirtti Śrī Rāja Siṅha and Veliviṭa Saṅgharāja in the Pallémalé of the Daḷadá Máligáwa; and together with Dévaragampola Silvattēna and Koswatté Hittara Naidé decorated Degaldoruwa in Dumbara. Vulgarly styled Hittara Mohoṭṭála, his full name, as given in the *tuḍapata*, was Balawatwala Bódhinaráyaṇa Bhuvanéka Báhu Chitrácháriyá.

3. *Tuḍapata*, 1723 Saka, (1801 A.D.), to his son Kuḍá Paṭabendá. This describes the foundation of the Dambulla Viháre by King Walagam Abhā, its restoration by King Niṣṣaṅka Malla, and the work executed in the various caves on the orders of King Kirtti Śrī Rāja Siṅha between 1669 and 1701 Saka, (1747 and 1799 A.D.), by Balawatwala Bódhi-naráyaṇa Bhuvanéka Báhu Chitrácháriyá, who received nine amunams of land on a *sannasa*.

It then records the work performed by his sons at the Máligáwa and elsewhere in the reign of Kings Rájádhirāja Siṅha and Śrī Vikrama Rāja Siṅha, and concludes with a description of the Asgiri Aḷut Viháre decorated by Balawatwala Chitrácháriyá

(Kuḍá Paṭabendá) on the orders of the Adigar Pilima Talawuwé 1723 Saka, (1801 A.D.), and the confirmation of the grant to his father.\*

4. *Tuḍapata*.—Apparently a part of the above. It gives a description of the decoration in the Mahá Rája Viháré at Dambulla.

5. *Paṭa-taḥaḍuwa*, to Kuḍá Paṭabendá, together with the necklace, ring, and *bandi* or armlets given to him on the completion of the Asgiri Viháré. Kuḍá Paṭabendá also executed the ivory work round the doors of the Uḍa-málé of the Máligáwa.

*Uḍasgiriya* (*vide* Tantirigama).

### OTUNU PAṬṬALĒ.

#### RAṬA-HATA, YAṬINUWARA.

*Ayagama*.—A hamlet in Danturé, given to this Paṭṭalé by King Vikrama Báhu. The ancient family is now extinct.

### TUMPANĒ.

*Yataṭnáwa*.—Given to the Oṭunu Paṭṭalé by King Vikrama Báhu. Latterly the people performed Nánáyakkára service.† Extinct.

The following *ola* gives the history of the Paṭṭalé :—

*Suruṭṭuwa*.—This document is practically identical with the *Eldeniyé Tuḍapata*. The followers of Vijayá are not given : those of the Bó Tree are Siritkarálná Radala, Sirit-ponkarálná Radala, Sirit-léná Radala, Sirit-naráyaṇa Radala, Sirit-ubhaya Náráyaṇa Radala, Maha Nēkatrála, Vidya Chakrawartti Paṇḍita Rála.

The story of Ábó Paṇḍitayá is then given. He made the crown for Kings Paṇḍita Vijaya Báhu and Bhuvanéka Báhu, and his son that for Vijaya Báhu the nephew of Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu. That of Mahalu Parákrama Báhu was made by Rájasékara Paṇḍitayá, who was given Kaḍadora, Vidurupola, Waldeniya, Liniyakaḍawa, Kuḍágoḍa, Dehimaḍuwa,

\* See Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, L., p. 74, for the *sannasa* of the viháré.

† *Hí Lékammitiya*.

Udattuwa, and Aragoḍa, beside slaves, the title of *Rājaguru Paṇḍitayá*, *muḷu viyan* or ceiling cloths, *miriveḍiya* or sandals, a tunic adorned with *bó* leaves (*bópata heṭṭé*), an eight-cornered hat, and a white flag. Later on, there being no one able to make his crown, Vikrama Báhu, King of Uḍa-raṭa, sent presents to Parákrama Báhu and got artificers, to whom he gave seven villages, including Ayagama and Yaṭatnáwa, with the titles of *Rājaguru* and *Paṇḍita Nilamé*, for making the crown.\* *Rājasékara Paṇḍitayá*'s son-in-law (or nephew) was *Paṇḍita Nilamé*: his daughter married *Yaṭatnáwé Paṇḍita Appu*, and *Heda Paṇḍitayá* gave as dowry seven slaves, the *Oṭunu Sēstra Pota* (book of instructions for making the crown), as well as the *sannasa* and *tuḍapata* given by the King. Thenceforward the *Rājaguru Paṇḍita Nilamé* grew rich, and was called *Rājaguru Paṇḍita Áchári*.

#### *Maḍawala.*

The ancestor of these smiths was *Paramánáya* of *Hiddawulla*. His brother *Níla-náráyana* settled at *Nílawala*, and another at *Uḍispattuwa*.

1. *Gal-sannasa* from *Siri Saṅgha Bó Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI.* (1410–1462 A.D.), in the seventeenth year of his reign, granting land in *Maḍawala* to *Siddawullé Áchári Paramánáya* and his son *Súriya*.†

2. Copper *sannasa* from the same King in the same year to *Súriya* and *Paramánáya*, giving the same land as in the *gal-sannasa*, held by their father *Hiddawullé Ratna Mudali Dawuṇḍa Áchári*.

The copper *sannasa* is a copy of the stone inscription, the names being altered.

The village is divided into four chief families :—

(a) *Maṇḍalawalli Navaratna Siṅha Kuḍá Radalé Kaḷu Baḍal paṅguwa* ;

(b) *Mudunminiratna Vibhúsana Mudali Dawuṇḍa Mudunmiṇi Muhandiram paṅguwa* ;

\* *Vide* Section V., page 5.

† Copy and translation sent to the Government Agent, Central Province, at his request by the Archaeological Commissioner (No. 451 of May 30, 1908).



(c) Parákkama (Parákrama) *paṅguwa* ;

(d) Dawuṇḍa *paṅguwa*.

The Árachehi of the village always bears the title of Muhandirama.

### SABARAGAMUWA.

*Kaṭapīṭiya*.—Siṅhanáráyana Ácháriyá received a *sannasa*, now lost, 1562 Saka, (1640 A.D.).

*Mudduwa*.—This village belongs to Maha Saman Dévalé Koṭṭal-badda. A Mīstri of Bellana in Pasdun Kóralé made *Viswakarma veda* for the king, and received a *paṭabendi-nama* and lands at Muddúwa and Ebétoṭa. The *sannasa* is now lost. The *paṭa-tahaḍuwa* bears this inscription :—

වම් එක්වාදහස් පන්සිය දසුදවක්කු වම්සෙති උතුම්බු මහ වාසලින්  
දෙවාච්ඡලාදු ශ්‍රී දත්තධාතු මහරඳවර මණ්ඩලවල්ලි විසවකම් රජ  
කරුණ මුහුදුරම්.

(The name of) Śrī Danta Dhātu Makaradhwaja Maṇḍalawalli Viśwakarma Rájakaruna Muhandiram, granted by the Supreme Great Court in the year 1598 (1676 A.D.).

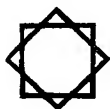
*Nákandala*.—To Saman Dévalé Koṭṭal-badda. An artificer made an image of a god of *rat-handun* for Keḷaniyé Parákrama Báhu and obtained this village on a *sannasa*.

## VI.—NĒTRÁ MAṄALLYAYA, OR FESTIVAL OF SETTING THE EYES.

The “Maháwaṇsa” relates that Parákrama Báhu the Great himself was wont to paint the eyes. To-day the ceremony is performed by the artist who decorates the image.

The ceremony commences at the first *jāma* of the night with the *Saḍanganvīdhiya*, and is presided over by a pupil with his forehead, breast, and shoulders smeared with sandalwood paste wearing the Brahman dress (*Bráhmāna eṇduma*). This consists of a *muṇḍāsané* or turban cloth, silver *pūna-nūla* or thread, cloth as worn by Brahmans, *utra sātaka* or *ura bandaya*, a long cloth passed round the body and thrown over the shoulder, and *kaḍḍukkan* or earrings.

In the *mandapé*, after the usual invocation of the Three Gems and of the *Dévatáwó*, paddy is spread on the floor. Of this is drawn a figure (*aṭa maṅgala*), composed of two squares, one above the other, so placed that the sides of the upper are parallel to the diagonals of the lower, thus :—



At the eight corners are placed pieces of cloth. The whole is covered with a mat, on which rice is spread and divided into eighty squares by intersecting lines. In the midst is set the *Brahma kalé*, which is filled with the nine kinds of gems (*nava ratna*) and rice, and is covered with a cloth of five colours (*pañcha-warṇa redda*) with a coconut flower on the top, and tied round with a waist chain (*hawaḍiya*). Around the *Brahma kalé* are set eighty small chatties (*kalageḍi*), inside of which are gold fanams and paddy, each being covered with two cloths and surrounded by coconuts, jaggery, betel stands (*ilattattu*), &c. These typify the nine planets. At the eight corners of the *aṭa maṅgala* are coconuts, in which *dehi kanu* ("lime posts") are fixed with a thread passing from one to another (*kanyá nūla*). The whole is called *Brahma garbhaya*.

Inside the *viharé*, another *aṭa maṅgala* is prepared of paddy, but instead of the *Brahma kalé*, for the *Indra kilé* is used a *kalageḍiya* filled with rice, gold fanams, and the nine gems. A *ruk-gaha* and a necklace are set thereon, and the whole covered with a *pañchawarṇa* cloth, while nine *kalageḍi* are placed around, as also a lamp (*pána*), nine betel stands, and nine baskets of curry stuffs (*sarakku wattī*). The whole surrounded by a *kanyá nūla* is called *Vishṇu garbhaya*. Gana Deviyo is worshipped. At the eight corners of the *aṭamaṅgala* and near the *Indra kilé* are *pidéni* made of plantain sheaths on which are set rice and sweetmeats. These *pidéni* also represent the nine planets. Outside the door of the *mandapé* are two *dwárapála pidéni*, and in front one called *kshéshttrapála*. Outside the *viharé* and the *mandapé* is a *khaḍgapála pidéniya* raised six feet high on a *meṣsa* on pillars: on one side of this

is the *diya dakina sthánaya* prepared with a large *koraha* of water; and all around eight smaller *mal-pel* at which rice is offered.

The ceremony of offering the *pidéni* and the rice at the *mal-pel* is performed by the principal smith wearing the *yaksha* or *jagalat ratu enduma*, consisting of a *pachcha-wadan tuppottiya*, a red *utra sātaka*, a round red hat, and a *kastúné* sword. To this some moderns have added a red jacket and trousers. In ancient times a tall cone-shaped red cap surmounted by a tassel was used.\*

Ślókas are recited till the propitious hour has arrived, when the principal smith puts on the *maha enduma* or *mūla áyittan jóduwa*, permission being given by the King. This consists now of the full dress of a Kandyan chief. The ancient dress was apparently the *Bráhmaṇa enduma*, and subsequently the white *tuppottiya*, round hat, and *uturu saḷuwa*.† The privilege of wearing the jacket is said to have been granted by King Naréndra Siṅha; but this is very doubtful. There are, however, several cases in which hats and jackets were presented to the smiths; and the royal dress itself was thus given on the completion of Gaṅgárāma Viháré. The idea would seem to be that the painter represents, and so wears the dress of, the patron at whose expense the image has been made.

The principal painter thus attired, sword in hand, enters the image house, and, with a red cloth (*wahantráwa*) wrapped about his head, so that his face only appears, sets the eyes to the image with a golden pencil, the paint being in a golden tray, while his assistants hold a looking glass (*keḍapata*) and a light. Meanwhile the *Maṅgaláshṭaka* is sung.

By this time it is daylight. The principal comes out of the *Vihára-gé*, the red cloth over his head and face, and his eyes fixed on the ground. He then looks intently into the water (*diya dakinawá*); in the *koraha* when he looks up his eyes first rest on a clay image of Viswakarma Divya Putrayá (*bali dakinawá*), and then on a white cow tied near by for this purpose (*haraká dakinawá*).

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\* A specimen of this is in the Kandy Museum.

† In the remoter districts, this is still the dress. See *supra*, *utra sātaka*

He re-enters the viháré, fills a gold tray with lime juice and sandalwood water, and taking the *keḍapata* in his hand anoints the head of the image reflected therein (*nānu mura karaṇawá*). He then comes out, and water is poured from a *keṇḍiya* on his hands by the priests and *dayakós*, who also present him with gifts. This is known as *kattru darṣanaya* or *katuru deḱíma*. The *Nétrá Pinkama* is then celebrated and lasts seven days. Anciently the painters stayed and received all the offerings; but now take the wages agreed on and depart, receiving the offerings made at the *Saḍanganvídhiya*.

## VII.—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The unit of weight among the gold and silversmiths is the *mancháḍiya* or *maḍaṭiya* seed of about 3·5 grains. Of these, twenty make a *kalanda*, or according to Davy\* twenty-four, a weight usually represented by a Dutch chally, and twelve *kalan* go to a *palamá*. Knox mentions the “collonda,” of which “six make just a piece of eight,” and also its half and quarter; with him twenty “beads” made a “collonda,” and twenty of these a “pallum.” The *ráttala* or pound seems to be of later introduction. Gold and silver are now as formerly weighed against the current coin.

The measures of length were the *waḍu angala*, equal to the space between the second and third joint of the forefinger, of which, seven went to the *viyata* or span, and twenty-four to the *waḍ riyana* or carpenter’s cubit; and the ordinary cubit or *riyana*. The carpenter’s cubit is also said to consist of the *riyana*, a *viyata*, and the breadth of four fingers of one hand and of two of the other. This is the *riyan lēlla* or cubit measure of Dévéndra Mulácháriyá, which is thirty-one inches long, and is divided into twenty-four “inches” (*angal*).†

According to Knox, “a rian is a Cubit, which is with them from the bone on the inside of the Elbow to the tip of the fourth

\* Interior of Ceylon, p. 243.

† Vide Arattana.

Finger. A Waddo rian is the Carpenter's Rule. It is as much as will reach from one Elbow to the other, the Thumbs touching one the other at the tops, and so stretching out both Elbows."\*

### VIII.—TITLES.

The following titles and ranks were held by headmen of the Smith caste :—

*Atuhangiḍiyá.* Assistant of the Hangiḍiya, *q. v.*

*Hangiḍiyá.* Headman of the Atapattukárayó, Í-waḍuwó, carpenters, and blacksmiths. Written also *Hangiliyá.*

*Hangiḍiyá, Atapattu.* Headman of the Atapattukárayó of the Koṭṭalbadda.

———, *Galgána.* Headman of the stone polishers.

———, *Galwaḍu.* Headman of the stone cutters.

———, *Í-waḍu.* Headman of the Í-waḍuwó.

———, *Koṭṭalbaddé.* Headman of one or more of the classes of blacksmiths of the Koṭṭalbadda.

*Mohottála, Hittara,* a colloquial honorific. Only two instances of its use are known (*vide* Hulangomuwa and Nilagama).

*Mudali,* a title qualified by *Ratna, Navaratna,* &c. Occurring in the *paṭabendi nam* in *sannas.*

*Mudiyaṁsé, Baḍal.†*

*Muhandirama.*—Frequent title among this caste.

———, *Baḍal.* Occurs in the late king's time; perhaps the same as—

———, *Koṭṭalbaddé.* Headman of the *Baḍallu* or silversmiths of the Koṭṭalbadda, appointed by the Disáwa in the disáwanies.

*Mulácháriyá.* Headman over the Ábharana Paṭṭalé of the Palace, over the Waḍuwó, Liyana Waḍuwó, and Hittaru of the Koṭṭalbadda, and in general a smith entrusted with the supervision of others, a chief smith.

\* Historical relation of Ceylon (part III., chap. VIII.).

† The first mention of this title as a separate rank, which I have found, is of that granted to Baḍalgé Appu of Niyarepola in 1848.

———, *Hittara*. Mention of Veḷágedara Mulácháriyá of the painters of Uḍa-raṭa (Uḍa-raṭa Hittara Mulácháriyá); fined in 1831 for not commencing the carved pillars of the Audience Hall (*vide* Ullaṇḍupīṭiya).

———, *Liyana waḍu*. Headman of the turners of the Koṭṭalbadda.

———, *Waḍu*. Over the carpenters of the same.

*Sippácháriyá*. One proficient in the five arts; an honorific.

*Vidáné*, *Koṭṭalbaddé*. Headman appointed by the Koṭṭalbaddé Nilamé or Disáwa over the whole Koṭṭalbadda of a district. As in the case of the Vidánés of the other baddas, he was either of the caste of his subordinates, or a Vellála. In Seven Kóralés there were also Vidánés of Koṭṭalbaddé villages.

———, *Wadu*. Headmen of carpenters. Mention of a Waḍu Vidáné of Dumbara; where the *Waḍu pérúwa* appears to have been distinct from a *Koṭṭalbadda*.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, January 25, 1909.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G., Vice-Patron, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freüdenberg, J.P., Vice-President.	Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.	The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
	Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on September 19, 1908.

2. Resolved the election of following Members:—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (1) A. S. de Silva: recom-<br>mended by                                     | (a) S. C. Obeyesekere.<br>(b) Hugh Clifford.       |
| (2) E. S. Dassenaïke, B.A.,<br>Barrister - at - Law: recom-<br>mended by    | (a) J. Harward.<br>(b) P. Arunáchalam.             |
| (3) H. L. de Mel, Proctor, S. C.,<br>and Notary Public: recom-<br>mended by | (a) G. A. Joseph.<br>(b) C. M. Fernando.           |
| (4) W. A. Samarasingha: re-<br>commended by                                 | (a) P. E. Pieris.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph.             |
| (5) D. Devapuraratne, Proctor,<br>S. C.: recommended by                     | (a) C. M. Fernando.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph.           |
| (6) F. Gomez, B.A., (non-<br>resident) Nilgiris: recom-<br>mended by        | (a) A. G. Tambyrnayagam.<br>(b) C. R. Arasaratnam. |

3. Laid on the table Mr. A. E. Buultjens' Paper entitled "The Dutch East India Company, and the Peace of Amiens," with remarks by the Hon. Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G.

Resolved,—That, in accordance with the remarks made by Mr. John Ferguson, Mr. Buultjens be informed that his Paper, as it is, is not suitable for the Journal; and that the Council suggest that a short Paper might be written embodying the information contained in pages 7, 8, 9, and 10 of his Paper.

4. Laid on the table Circular No. 336 of September 21, 1908, containing Mr. P. Arunachalam's Paper entitled "Jnāna Vasish-tam," with the opinions of Mudaliyārs E. R. Goonaratna and R. C. Kailasapillai.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading at a Meeting and be published in the Journal.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Notes on Delft," by the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. J. Harward and R. G. Anthonisz for their opinions.

6. Read a letter from Mr. P. Freudenberg dated October 31, 1908, to Mr. P. Arunachalam regarding the reprinting of the *Mahāvāṇsa*.

7. Read a letter from Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, dated November 20, 1908, to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, regarding the reprinting of the *Mahāvāṇsa*.

Resolved,—That the Government be asked to adopt the recommendations contained in Professor Rhys Davids' letter.

8. Laid on the table the Hon. the Colonial Secretary's letter dated December 10, 1908, forwarding a "Report on the Restoration and Conservation of *Thūpārāma* Vihāré at Polonnaruwa during 1903–1908," by the Archæological Commissioner.

Resolved,—That the Report be referred to Messrs. Arunachalam and Harward for their opinions.

9. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1909.

The Council was informed that under Rule 16, Messrs. C. Drieberg and R. G. Anthonisz retire by seniority, and the Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere and the Hon. Mr. Justice A. Wood Renton by reason of least attendance, two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election.

Resolved,—That Messrs. C. Drieberg and R. G. Anthonisz be re-elected, and that the Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere and the Hon. Mr. Justice A. Wood Renton be deemed to have retired by reason of least attendance, and the vacancies thus created be filled by the appointment of Messrs. E. B. Denham and M. Kelway Bamber.

Resolved,—That the vacancy in the post of President of the Society resulting from the resignation of the Hon. Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., who left the Island, be filled by the appointment of the Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G.; and that the vacancy caused by the disappearance of Mr. J. Parsons be filled by the appointment of Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.

10. Considered date and business for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be fixed for February 26, and that at it be read the Annual Report and one of the two Papers by Messrs. Donald Ferguson and P. E. Pieris respectively, already accepted for reading and publication.



## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, February 25, 1909.*

Present :

Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunachalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist.		Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.
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The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed minutes of last Council Meeting held on January 25, 1909.

2. Resolved the election of the following Members :—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) A. H. Gomes, F.B.I. (London), F.N.F.A. (London): recommended by             | } (a) J. A. Daniel.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph.          |
| (2) K. J. Saunders: recommended by  |   |
| (3) J. L. Pieris Samarasinha Siriwardana, Mudaliyár of the Gate: recommended by | } (a) S. C. Obeyesekere.<br>(b) P. E. Pieris.     |
| (4) A. O. Jayawardana, Korala, Inquirer into Crimes, &c.: recommended by        |   |
| (5) J. W. de Silva, Proctor, Supreme Court and Notary Public: recommended by    | } (a) P. E. Pieris.<br>(b) G. A. Joseph.          |
| (6) W. Wijeyesekera, Inquirer into Crimes: recommended by                       |   |
| (7) R. Sagarajasingam: recommended by   | } (a) P. Arunachalam.<br>(b) R. C. Kailasapillai. |
| (8) C. F. W. Halliley, Assistant Superintendent of Surveys: recommended by      |   |

3. Laid on the table Circular No. 44 of February 6, 1909, containing the opinions of the Hon. Mr. P. Arunachalam and Mr. J. Harward on the Archæological Commissioner's "Report on the Restoration and Conservation of Thúpáráma Vihárá, Polonnaruwa, during 1903-1908."

Resolved,—That as a great deal of the substance of this Report has already appeared in the Annual Reports for those years, published in the Society's Journal under the head "Archæology," the Report be not published in the Journal;\* but the Government be thanked for offering it to the Society.

4. Laid on the table Andrew's Journal with Notes by the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis.

Resolved,—That the Journal and Notes be referred to Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár, for their opinions.

5. Read and passed the Draft Annual Report for 1908.

6. Resolved,—On the proposal of the Hon. Mr. P. Arunachalam, seconded by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, that the accounts of this Society, which have not been audited for some years past, should be audited annually, and that the Honorary Secretaries do endeavour to have the accounts audited free of cost for the unaudited period.

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\* This Resolution accords with the expressed wish of the Archæological Commissioner.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, February 26, 1909.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Vice-President.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. C. D. Carolis.

Mr. P. de Abrew.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate  
Mudaliyár.Mr. D. Devapuraratna, Proctor,  
S.C.Mr. F. H. de Vos, J.P.,  
Barrister-at-Law.Mr. A. N. Galbraith, B.A.,  
C.C.S.

Mr. A. M. Hamid.

Mr. C. W. Horsfall.

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.

Mr. E. W. Jayawardana,  
Barrister-at-Law.Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Muda-  
liyár.

Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. D. Obeyesekere, M.A.,  
Barrister-at-Law.Mr. J. P. Obeyesekera,  
Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. J. B. M. Ridout.

Mr. A. E. Roberts, Proctor.

Dr. E. Roberts, F.F.P.S.,  
M.R.C.S.

Mr. W. A. Samarasingha.

Dr. V. R. Saravanamuttu,  
M.D.

Mr. J. Still.

Ven. H. Śrī Sumāṅgala, High  
Priest.Śūriyagoda Sumāṅgala Terun-  
ānsé.

Mr. M. Supramaniyan.

Mr. F. A. Tisseverasingha,  
Advocate.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Ten ladies and eight gentlemen.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of General Meeting held on November 24 last.

2. Exhibited a series of "finds" (stone, clay, and bronzes) made by the Archæological Survey during its operations at Polonnaruwa in 1908, and photographs by Dr. A. Nell of bronzes similarly discovered at Polonnaruwa in 1907, and since transferred to the Colombo Museum.

3. Laid on the table Vol. XX., No. 60, 1908. of the Society's Journal.

4. Mr. R. G. Anthonisz read the following Paper entitled "Letters from Rāja Sinha II. to the Dutch," by Mr. Donald Ferguson :—

## LETTERS FROM RAJA SINHA II. TO THE DUTCH.

By DONALD FERGUSON.

IN the introduction to my paper, "Correspondence between Rája Singha II. and the Dutch," which was printed in the Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal for 1904, I drew attention to the fact that there must have been in the Colombo Archives a great many more of Rája Singha's letters, and that of those missing many must have been purloined. One of these, as I showed, Tennent owed to having in his possession when he wrote his *Ceylon*. I have now discovered two others (one, however, only a copy); and I hope (though I am not very sanguine) that others may come to light.

The two letters that are the subject of this paper form Additional MS. 9,380 in the British Museum Library, and are contained in a portfolio lettered on the back as follows:—"Original Documents relative to Ceylon.—Mus. Brit. ex dono Alex. Johnston, Esq. Aur.—9,380 Plut." The letters are numbered 1 and 2, and each is indorsed "Presented by Sir Alexr. Johnston, 1833."

The first letter is a remarkable one,—in fact unique,—consisting of a huge sheet of thick paper, measuring no less than 38 inches in length by 15 inches in breadth, and written on both sides. It is folded twice, and at two of the folds some of the writing has been destroyed; but otherwise it is in an excellent state of preservation, the paper having been "backed" by the Museum authorities. That it is an original document is proved by the Dutch indorsement, which is in the same handwriting as that of many of the indorsements on the letters translated in my former paper.

The second letter is, in some respects, even more remarkable. It consists of a sheet of foolscap paper (of a texture not unlike that on which the other letters from Rája Singha are written), with writing on the first two pages, the other two being blank. The pages containing the writing are enclosed in ornamental borders in red, and at the head and tail of the letter are crowned figures in the attitude of supplication\* and other ornaments. It has every appearance of an original document,

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\* Cf. Baldæus's description of Rája Singha's letter to Adriaan van der Meiden, as printed in the last paragraph on p. 222 of my former paper.

and for such I took it, until in transcribing it I began to come across the most extraordinary errors in spelling. Even then my first idea was that it was a contemporary copy made in Badulla by some writer not very conversant with Portuguese. However, it struck me to hold the paper up to the light, when, to my consternation and disgust, I read the prosaic watermark "G. Jones, 1803"! So the document is after all only a facsimile copy (a remarkably clever one, I must say) of the original, executed, probably by a Sinhalese, by Sir Alexander Johnston's order doubtless. But at once several questions arise, viz., where is the original letter? and with what object was this facsimile copy made? Was it "with intent to deceive?" (The British Museum authorities, at any rate, appear to have been taken in.) The matter is to me an insoluble mystery. That the letter is a forgery, and not a copy, cannot be believed for a single moment: internal evidence proves the contrary.

It was doubtless very good of Sir Alexander Johnston to present these letters to the British Museum Library, where they have been well kept; but how came he to have possession of the first letter, which was the property of the Government of which he was a paid servant? These cases involving the honour of a Chief Justice and a Colonial Secretary of Ceylon are not pleasant to dwell upon.

As regards the letters themselves: the first one, it will be seen, is that referred to by Valentyn, as quoted at the bottom of page 212 of my paper; and its discovery necessitates the alteration of notes 272, 273, and 274 on p. 267. It follows in chronological order the letter printed on p. 210 of my paper, and I have, therefore, numbered it 10A. The second letter, though undoubtedly authentic, is not referred to by Valentyn or any other Dutch writer, so far as I can find. It was written only a few weeks after the missive printed on pp. 244-5 of my paper, hence I have numbered it 24A.

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[ 10A ]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ,  
to the Governor Jacob van Kuitenstein, like my own  
vassal, in my fortress of Gale,  
send much greeting.

Being in my kingdom of Bintena<sup>1</sup>, there was presented to me a letter from Your Honour, written on the 15th of November of the year 1651<sup>2</sup>, to which this is the reply<sup>3</sup>

As God our Lord created the heavens and the earth<sup>4</sup>, he likewise created kings, who are gods of the aforesaid earth. The native vassals of this my empire, and the rest that are like my own vassals, who serve me with love and loyalty, when they name my royal name call me " God our Lord " <sup>5</sup>; and the rest who are strangers, both friends and enemies, name me " God of the Country ": and for this aforesaid reason they desire (?) to call and name kings " God of the Country "; and it will not be a sin to [address] as " God " kings of my lineage ; as likewise the natives of this my empire, of great ideas, together with the strangers of other countries, did not apply to me this title without first imagining and considering it very well. When they gave me the rule of this my empire they gave me together with it the title of " God of the Country "; and for this reason King Comarasinga and King Vigiapala, my great brothers, because they did not give it to them, took it very ill their giving it to me ; and because of their having this envy, what God did to them Your Honours know very well<sup>6</sup>. And by this Your Honours will understand that God himself is willing for them to name me by this title ; and this same aforesaid title is already very ancient to those of my lineage, and the natives of other countries name by this aforesaid title ; and in order that Your Honour may know it I gave you this information, so that Your Honours do not go contrary to your law, and consider this word that it is already ancient, and do what seems best to you.

Your Honour tells me in your letter that the commissary Pedro Kuieft begged him urgently to grant him leave to pay a visit to Batavia<sup>7</sup> in order to relate to his superiors all that had happened to him at this my imperial court, at which I was very glad ; and the letter that the said commissary sent me together with that of Your Honour I likewise welcomed. When the said commissary left this my imperial court he gave me his word to return shortly, the which he was not obliged to do. The Dutch nation [ \* \* \* \* \* ]<sup>8</sup> likewise he for his part was obliged to break faith, which I hold in my royal heart for certain [ \* \* \* \* \* ]<sup>8</sup>. That which Your Honour in the seventh paragraph of your letter treats of to me, as regards that, on my royal part I shall fail in nothing<sup>9</sup>

Whatever thing my Hollanders present me with I esteem it much ; and the present that Your Honour sent to this imperial court<sup>10</sup> I welcomed much more, and for certain I hold in my royal heart that in all things that shall offer of my royal service the Dutch nation will never fail me in anything.

Your Honour says also in the last paragraph of your letter that the Portuguese had obtained from Portugal two other ships. This news I had already heard, but I did not hold it for certain ; because I only rely upon that which comes to my royal notice by way of the Hollanders, who are like my own vassals who serve me with loyalty, and I did [? do] not give credit to that which comes to me by way of another nation except when it reaches me by four or five ways. Your Honour treats also in the same paragraph of the treachery that the Portuguese practised in Brazil<sup>11</sup>. To the treacherous who have an evil heart and speak good words with the mouth there is cause for punishment to be given ; and whoever shall take this cause upon himself, God likewise will have much cause to aid him.

The second letter that Your Honour wrote to me from that fortress of mine on the 6th of February in the year 1652<sup>12</sup> was presented to me in the same royal kingdom of mine of Bintena. In the first paragraph of it Your Honour tells me that you were much surprised at my writing to the commissary Pedro Kuieft<sup>13</sup>, as if he were there in person. If I wrote to him, it was because after the letter of Your Honour arrived until writing to the said commissary I had not read it, by reason of my having gone on recreation, in order to pass the time, and having determined to reply to it after I had come to my city of Badula, as you might see from the first paragraph of the letter that I wrote to the said commissary. I was very glad when I heard what your Honour treats of in the second paragraph of your letter<sup>14</sup>.

While writing this paragraph on a Monday, the 26th of August, at eleven o'clock at night, there reached me a patamar<sup>15</sup> with two other persons from Goa, who brought me a letter in great secrecy, written in the Malavar language, from King Vigiapala<sup>16</sup>, done on the 15th of the moon of March of this present year of [1]652. In it he told me that there had arrived

an order from the king of Portugal, which the Portuguese had set on foot, to take him to the said kingdom ; and that after the writing of the said letter there was only the space of a year, or a year and a half ; and if in the meanwhile there should be war in this my empire with the said Portuguese, they would let him remain<sup>17</sup>. This is what was contained in the said letter, with other things besides of his troubles, and how he was in health. If the said king had had love for me he would never have had to leave my royal company ; but seeing that he had it not, and left me in bitterness, well, for that same reason I have left him until now, and have never inquired about his affairs ; and now that he sees himself in trouble he wishes to avail himself of my imperial person. And any of the aforesaid troubles that may befall those that shall descend from my royal blood, by reason of its not being possible to find another similar person, the natives of this my empire are bound to feel it much ; and with all this he left them and went off ; but with the help and favour of God I continue in perfect health, and hope in Him with much confidence that He will give much health, with prosperous and long years of life, to the prince whom God sent into this world, for the defence of this empire<sup>18</sup>. And as I have taken Your Honours in lieu of my own said vassals, I give you advice of this secret ; the which I should never have thought of doing to any other foreign nation : wherefore let Your Honour take counsel on these matters that I relate to you, and of what shall result therefrom, and shall seem to you best, advise me of in the reply that you shall send me to this letter<sup>19</sup>.

As regards the third paragraph, in which Your Honour says that there was no intention of sending any of your captains or other persons to Columbo to treat with the Portuguese<sup>20</sup> without first giving advice to this imperial court : as I hold in my royal heart that the Dutch nation is loyal and true to me, and serves me with good will, so I have confidence that it will serve me always with the same aforesaid love and loyalty ; and in this same manner I hope in God that as long as the sun and moon shall endure so it will continue always.

Your Honour says also likewise in your [letter] that I had sent from this my imperial court certain persons of quality to



Columbo in order to treat with the Portuguese<sup>21</sup>. This news is in accordance [ \* \* \* \* \* ]<sup>22</sup> of Your Honour [ \* \* \* ]<sup>22</sup> that which I [?] heard. I remind Your Honour, and the whole world, that to those who serve me faithfully the person of my royal quality is not accustomed to do such things. As far as the fifth paragraph of Your Honour's letter written on the 6th of February I have replied to, and to the rest that is contained in it I shall reply in the answer that I shall give to the letter that the sergeant presented at this imperial court, written on the 15th of May [1]652<sup>23</sup>.

Reply to the third letter that the said sergeant<sup>24</sup> presented to this imperial court, the which was read to me before my imperial person on the 4th of August of this present year. The delay in the reply to Your Honour's letters I have already explained in the first paragraph of the second letter. In this Your Honour tells me not to estimate the value of the present except by the affectionate love and goodwill with which you sent it. As the Dutch nation serves me with great loyalty and good zeal, and because of the affection that my imperial person has for it, for that reason anything that the said nation presents me with I esteem highly. The four plumes<sup>25</sup> are very good, and as such I welcomed them. The surgical instruments are of very good workmanship. The medicines—as I have towards the Dutch nation great love and affection, and it is faithful to me, I well understand that they are sure to present me with only very precious things, as Your Honour tells me in your [letter] that they are ; and that these aforesaid medicines be explained to me<sup>26</sup>, I have impressed upon you in the other letter that I wrote to Your Honour on the 1st of August<sup>27</sup>. The three little dogs that came together with the *sanguate*<sup>28</sup> that they presented me with I esteemed on account of their being sent by Your Honours ; but the two mastiffs<sup>29</sup> are of no use either for the safety of the gates of the palace or to frighten the people ; neither have they any ability, nor is their posture and appearance pleasing. The black dog is of the breed of hunting dogs, but his fashion<sup>30</sup> and the spots that he has do not appear to me good for hunting, nor as yet have I seen his prowess.

The fifer<sup>31</sup> whom the superiors of the Dutch nation ordered to present me with, and because of being likewise sent by Your Honour, I was very pleased to hear ; but his manner of playing the instrument is a little harsh, and I did not find much agreeableness in him (the one they captured in the fortress of Panaré<sup>32</sup>, who is now dead, played softly and with sweetness, and I had pleasure in hearing him) ; but because he was sent by his said superiors and through Your Honour with so much love, I granted him leave with very good will that he also might go in company with the sergeant.


In times past I have given warning to the governors of that fortress of mine regarding the war in this my empire of Ceilaō, and I now do so to Your Honour in order that you may know it, that at all times when the Dutch nation shall have war with the Portuguese, or with whatever other nation it may be, or shall wish to make any fortification, or place any *arrajal*<sup>33</sup> in any garrison, or shall wish to take any alien territories or towns from the cape of Comorim [or] from the coast of Choromandel on this side<sup>34</sup>, they first consult my royal person, before they make the said war ; and by sea it will be according to the occasions that they shall have, and as it shall appear to them in their council, provided that there be not loss on our side ; because if they shall do thus there will be no distrust or any mistake, but rather it shall be to the profit of both parties, and our fame ; and for these aforesaid reasons I shall esteem it if the Dutch nation give fulfilment to that which I have already enjoined upon it.

In times past I treated on several occasions with Admiral Coster<sup>35</sup>, and with several other officers of the Dutch nation that came to this my imperial court, of what I had in my royal heart to do on the coast of Coromandel, after that this my empire was free from various commotions ; and so I hope in God, and have great confidence in Him that He will give fulfilment to this my royal wish.

The persons that bear this letter—one of them is Tenacon<sup>36</sup>, lieutenant<sup>37</sup>, and the other Corupo<sup>38</sup>, lieutenant. They will deliver to Your Honour some gifts that they convey from this court ; and by the list<sup>39</sup> that they carry you will be able to take delivery of them.

I was very glad to see this last letter of Your Honour's, and likewise to have in that fortress of mine such a good secretary<sup>40</sup>, with such good abilities for matters of my royal service ; and for this cause I make a present to the said secretary of a gold ring set with its stones<sup>41</sup>, the which goes together with the gifts for Your Honour, and on its arriving at that fortress of mine, you will deliver it to the said secretary.

I shall value to have at this my imperial court a dexterous horse taught to dance, and at the same time one or two more Arabs trained in war<sup>42</sup> : let Your Honour send me these in his own way. God guard Your Honour and all the rest of the Dutch nation, whom in my royal heart I have taken like my own vassals. Etca. From this city and court of Badula on the 5th of September [1]652.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent  Emperor of Ceilaõ.

*Indorsement (in Dutch) :—*Original letter in Portuguese written by the king of Candia dato p mo xber<sup>43</sup> 1652. to Jacob van Kittensteijn.

— — — — —  
[24A.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this my far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, etc., to the Admiral-General of the Naval Fleet, Captain-General of the Sea and Land, and Superintendent of the Dutch nation in this my Empire of Ceilaõ, send much greeting<sup>44</sup>.


Your Honour's letter, written in the month of November<sup>45</sup>, arrived on Friday night, the 29th of the said month, near to this imperial city, and on Saturday before daylight was presented to my imperial person, the which found me in perfect health, and by the divine favour already free from the past troubles, and the causers of them paid for their effronteries, my imperial person being gratified at the great concern, love, and willingness that you exhibit in your [letter] for my imperial affairs, the which I shall ever have in my remembrance and imperial heart. This was the cause why I made Your Honour acquainted ; and certainly I remain expecting for the

future that the Dutch nation will serve me with the same loyalty as you display towards me in your letter.

As touching what Your Honour \*treats of regarding the household slaves<sup>46</sup> of the Portuguese : This nation had taken part of this empire of mine, and on account of the many acts of violence and wrongs that they did I took into my imperial heart to drive them out of it, for which causes I sent to summon the Dutch nation ; and how God chastised them is notorious to all and to Your Honours manifest ; reminding you that the natives of this empire are all my vassals, and amongst them there are good and bad : if there are any that commit offences to my imperial person the chastisement is reserved, as is laid down in the capitulations<sup>47</sup> ; and I make this notification to Your Honour, in order that you may keep it in remembrance : doing so, my imperial person will continue believing in the good will that you have to serve me.

Your Honour says in your [letter] that the Dutch nation with its armadas has blockaded the ports and bars of the kingdom of Portugal<sup>48</sup>, and that Your Honour with the force that you have is going against the city of Goa<sup>49</sup>. May it please God to chastise this Portuguese nation for the many wrongs and tyrannies that they have done to several kings of India, tyrannizing over their territories and kingdoms, and usurping (?) them ; so that all the various successes and victories that Your Honours shall have, in one or another part, coming to my imperial notice, I shall rejoice at as if it were my own affair.

Whilst waiting for Your Honour's reply in order to dispatch the bearer with the present, as well as with what I had written before its arrival, there came to my imperial notice that he had already left, you having written to me in your [letter] that he would await my imperial order ; the which I am much annoyed at, for which reason the present does not go. I dispatched the bearer with the reply to Your Honour's letters because of his begging leave of me by a petition : therefore he leaves to-day, Friday, 20 December. And if God brings back Your Honour in safety, on your advising this imperial court, there will go a person to learn of your good arrival<sup>50</sup>. Nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, etc. From this imperial court and city of Candea on the 20th of December 1658.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent  Emperor of Ceilaõ, etc.

• NOTES.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the letter of 10 January 1652, printed at p. 210 of my former paper.

<sup>2</sup> This is the letter, Valentyn's summary of which is given in the last paragraph on p. 209 of my former paper. It will be seen that Rája Sinha furnishes a fuller abstract of van Kittenstein's letter than Valentyn does.

<sup>3</sup> The bulk of the king's reply to the Dutch governor's letter of 15 November 1651 consists, as will be noticed, of an elaborate defence of his arrogation of the name of "God," for which van Kittenstein had politely rebuked him.

<sup>4</sup> Rája Sinha's Buddhism was greatly permeated by Hinduism and to some extent by Christianity. Compare what Knox says in his *Hist. Rel.*, pp. 42-3.

<sup>5</sup> See the references in note 253 of my former paper.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 168 of my former paper.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 210 of my former paper.

<sup>8</sup> Some of the writing here is destroyed, owing to a fold in the letter.

<sup>9</sup> What this refers to, I am unable to say.

<sup>10</sup> Probably the present referred to further on.

<sup>11</sup> See pp. 194 and 213 of my former paper.

<sup>12</sup> See the last paragraph on p. 210 of my former paper, where Valentyn's summary of this letter is printed. In this case also Rája Sinha gives us a much fuller abstract of van Kittenstein's letter than does the Dutch historian.

<sup>13</sup> See the letter to Kieft printed at p. 210 of my former paper.

<sup>14</sup> This refers probably to van Kittenstein's statement (according to Valentyn) that Kieft "would make known to Their Honours by word of mouth His Majesty's good feeling towards the Dutch."

<sup>15</sup> That is, a courier (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. "Pattamar").

<sup>16</sup> See note 4 at p. 248 of my former paper.

<sup>17</sup> See the last paragraph on p. 213 of my former paper.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the first paragraph of letters 17 and 18 on p. 236 of my former paper. See also the last paragraph of Rája Sinha's letter of 18 February 1656, printed on p. 228 of the same paper.

<sup>19</sup> See Valentyn's version of van Kittenstein's reply to this at pp. 212-3 of my former paper.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the second paragraph of Rája Sinha's letter to Kieft, at p. 210 of my former paper.

<sup>21</sup> Whether there was any truth in this statement, I cannot say. Rája Sinha, of course, denied the allegation.

<sup>22</sup> Portions of the writing destroyed, owing to a fold in the letter.

<sup>23</sup> Valentyn says nothing of this letter, which accompanied the presents that he mentions (see p. 211 of my former paper), and regarding which Rája Singha gives us fuller details below.

<sup>24</sup> Who this man was, I do not know.

<sup>25</sup> They were doubtless for Rája Singha's wonderful headgear, as described and depicted by Knox in his *Hist. Rel.* p. 34 and plate at p. 33. Valentyn does not mention these plumes, but speaks of "two large curious hats."

<sup>26</sup> The royal writer may have had some suspicions that his dear friends the Dutch would not scruple to try to get rid of him by poison.

<sup>27</sup> There can be no mistake in this date, "1st" being written "pr<sup>o</sup>" (primeiro). This may be the letter from which Tennent quotes (see p. 211 of my former paper), as he may possibly have misread the date, which he states to be "6th August."

<sup>28</sup> Present. See note 137 on p. 259 of my former paper.

<sup>29</sup> The Portuguese word is *libreo*, which Vieyra explains as "a large Irish greyhound." But he says "See also *cam de fila*," and this he Englishes by "a great cur, a mastiff-dog." As Valentyn, in his list of presents (*u.s.*), says nothing about dogs, I cannot be certain of the variety sent. (Regarding dogs as presents for Rája Singha see my *Captain Robert Knox*, pp. 13, 16.)

<sup>30</sup> Or, "temper" (*modo*).

<sup>31</sup> Port. *pifaro*, which means both "fife" and "fifer." Valentyn does not mention this man, but says (*u.s.*) that a "bagpipe" (*sak-pyp*) was sent among the presents.

<sup>32</sup> In 1646. See my former paper, pp. 191-2.

<sup>33</sup> Camp.

<sup>34</sup> That is, on the coast facing Ceylon.

<sup>35</sup> See my former paper, pp. 175, 178-80.

<sup>36</sup> See my former paper, p. 223 and note 347 at p. 270.

<sup>37</sup> The word I have so translated is in the first case *tenandé*, and in the second *tenaöde*. There is no such word recorded in the dictionaries; but I presume that what is meant is *tenente*, an obsolete meaning of which is also "governor of a city for the king." Apparently it is intended to represent the title *appuhámi*.

<sup>38</sup> Baldæus (*Ceylon*, chap. xxxvii.) calls him "Curupele Apohamy."

<sup>39</sup> The list is printed at p. 212 of my former paper.

<sup>40</sup> See note 269 at p. 266 of my former paper.

<sup>41</sup> This is specified in the list.

<sup>42</sup> In June 1649 a Persian (Arab) horse was sent to Rája Singha (see my former paper, p. 200), and in November 1654 "several fine horses" were sent to the young prince (*ibid.* p. 219). Also on 18 April 1652 a black stallion for Rája Singha was sent by the Dutch from Ispahan to Gombroon to be shipped to Ceylon with other things (see Hotz's *Journal . . . van . . . Joan Curacus*, p. 215.) As regards the king's craving for horses, &c., see my *Captain Robert Knox*, p. 13 n.

<sup>43</sup> There is a double error here ; the Dutch writer has misread the figure 5 as 1 (which it closely resembles) and the words "desetembro" as "desembro."

<sup>44</sup> This superscription is identical with that of the letter of 14 November 1658, printed at pp. 244-5 of my former paper, the person addressed being the same, viz., Rijklof van Goens.

<sup>45</sup> I have found no reference to this letter in Valentyn or elsewhere ; but it was probably in reply to the letter mentioned in the previous note.

<sup>46</sup> Port. *crioulos*.

<sup>47</sup> The "capitulations" referred to are the articles of the treaty of 23 May 1638, made with Westerwold, and confirmed 6 August 1649, art. 15 of which provided that any of the royal subjects that had committed offences and had fled to the Dutch were to be given up to the king for punishment. Rája Siṅha wished to include in this category the household slaves that had belonged to the Portuguese ere they were ousted from Ceylon ; but to this the Dutch demurred. (Cf. my former paper, p. 240.)

<sup>48</sup> This is a misapprehension : it was only Goa that the Dutch were blockading.

<sup>49</sup> This also is incorrect : to Adriaan Roothaas was again committed the blockade of Goa ; while van Goens himself proceeded to Ceylan (Quilon), which he captured on 29 December 1658, and thence to Cananor, where, however, he received an order from Batavia to stay further hostilities, whereupon he returned to Columbo in January 1659 (see Valentyn, *Ceylon*, 147 ; *Bat. D.-R.*, 1659, pp. 43, 55).

<sup>50</sup> I cannot find that van Goens fulfilled this request ; and, as mentioned at p. 245 of my former paper, in May 1659 the Dutch under governor van der Meiden attacked and defeated the king's forces in the peninsula of Kalpitiya, of which they thereupon took possession.

5. Mr. DE VOS said there were published in Batavia certain *Dagregisters* beginning from the year 1640, and the Society possessed a series of them. He would like to know whether those referring to the years 1652 to 1658 threw any light on these letters, because so far as he could see from Mr. Ferguson's notes there was no reference to them there. He would suggest to the Council that it would be of the highest advantage to Members who took an interest in subjects of that kind, that copies of a Paper like the present should be previously sent to them, so that they might study it and be in a position to offer such remarks as might be desirable.

6. Mr. PIERIS said Mr. de Vos had put a question, which he himself was most competent to answer. He had translated many of those Registers, and they had been printed. Mr. Pieris proceeded to offer certain criticisms of Mr. Ferguson's translation, giving a sketch of the life of King Vijijapála.

7. SÚRIYAGOPA SUMAṄGALA TERUNNÁNSÉ said that the Paper was a valuable one, and threw light on important facts in the history of the Island.

With regard to Rája Siṅha's assumption of divine titles such as "God our Lord" and "God of the Country" it should be remembered that the word "Déva," which is identified with Latin "Deus" or "Divus" has been an approved title of kings in the East from time immemorial. In the *Majjhima-nikāya*, the commentary on the *Mulipariyāya Sutta*, Buddhaghósa enumerates three kinds of gods, viz., *Sammuti-déva* (approved gods), *Uppati-déva* (born gods), and *Visuddhi-déva* (holy gods). By the first, kings and royalty are meant; by the second, celestial beings; and by the third, *arhats* who have attained to the entire extinction of passions. This appellation was not an unusual one in the West too. Horace in addressing Augustus calls him vice-gerent of Jupiter on earth. He was inclined to think that a similar feeling might have persuaded the English kings to fight for their divine rights.

Another point to which he wished to refer was explanatory note 4 to the Paper. Rája Siṅha II. was a good Buddhist, whose State religion was Buddhism. He followed Dutugemunu the Great in taking Buddhist monks with him on starting for war. The following quotation from *Mahāwaṇsa* bears on this point:—

Chapter 96—“And taking with him the sons of Buddha for the purpose of giving alms, and performing such like meritorious acts, the fearless king proceeded from place to place, sounding the drum of war as terrible as the sound of thunder.

Rája Siṅha II. being a good Buddhist allowed religious toleration to all his subjects indiscriminately as one of the principles of Buddhism. The religious tolerance that was enjoyed in his reign was not due to mixing Buddhism with other religions.

8. Hon. Mr. P. ARUNÁCHALAM, Vice-President, said he did not propose to dwell on the Paper itself, after the exhaustive speeches they had just heard, especially from Mr. Pieris. He would only refer to a sentence in Mr. Ferguson's introduction to his Paper, which read: "These cases involving the honour of a Chief Justice and a Colonial Secretary of Ceylon are not pleasant to dwell upon," and said he thought there was absolutely no foundation for the imputation on the faith of those two distinguished officials, one of them Sir A. Johnston, who was not only our Chief Justice, but was a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. Mr. Ferguson seems to have been the first person to detect the watermark on the paper. Is it credible that any sane person, much less a Chief Justice, with knowledge of that mark, would have deliberately palmed off on the British Museum as an original document which bore conclusive evidence of the falsity of the claim? Mr. Arunáchalam concluded by offering, on behalf of the audience and the Society, their very warm thanks to Mr. Donald Ferguson for his translation of those very interesting letters.



9. Mr. DE VOS seconded. He thought Mr. Ferguson (he said it without any fear of contradiction) was the highest living authority on the Portuguese history of Ceylon. The Society was very thankful to him for the great research and the indefatigable pains he has always taken to enrich the Journals of the Society with most valuable contributions. He would like to suggest that when the present Paper is printed, there should be printed with it the original Portuguese text of the letters, of which the present Paper was a translation.\*

Mr. HARWARD said he would like to lay stress on the very valuable Papers which the Society had received from Mr. Donald Ferguson. Among recent contributions being the valuable series of translations, of which the two interesting letters they had had read that night formed a part, the Paper on the discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese, which formed No. 79 of the Society's Journal, and the translation of the History of Ceylon contained in the works of Barros and do Couto, which formed No. 60 of the Society's Journal. These Papers afforded materials to the student who wished to study history from contemporary documents, and the fullness of the notes and the critical way in which Mr. Ferguson dealt with his materials was extremely useful as a model to local writers on the subject, many of whom, he hoped, would follow and emulate Mr. Ferguson's example. (*Applause.*)

10. The CHAIRMAN: After the exceedingly interesting speech of Mr. Pieris, I hesitate to add in any way to the discussion which has taken place. I cannot pretend to have the knowledge or scholarship of the gentlemen who have already spoken; but I note Mr. de Vos' suggestion that advance copies of the lectures should be circulated to Members. It is one which I most heartily endorse, and which I hope the Council will see its way to adopt in the future. Without some such system as circulated advance copies, it is exceedingly difficult for most of us to grasp in full the value of letters such as those which have been read to us to-night.

[After a slight pause, the Chairman, continued.]

I am told by Mr. Harward that the Committee send out some advance copies, but I am not amongst the happy recipients, therefore my excuse stands. It is exceedingly difficult to pick out even matters of the most prominence in Papers read hastily, although listened to with such attention as we have devoted to the Paper to-night, if they have not been studied with the leisure one would wish.

On page 9, however, there is a paragraph, which to me seems to be of extraordinary interest: "Your Honour says in your [letter] that the Dutch nation with its armadas has blockaded the ports and bars of the kingdom of Portugal, and that Your Honour, with the force that you have, is going against the city of Goa. May it please God to chastise this Portuguese nation for the many wrongs and tyrannies that they have done to several kings of

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\* No transcript available.—*Ed Sec*

India, tyrannizing over their territories and kingdoms, and usurping (?) them ; so that all the various successes and victories that Your Honour shall have, in one or another part, coming to my Imperial notice, I shall rejoice at as if it were my own affair."

Now, that seems to me to be of peculiar interest, because it gives to us something resembling a glimpse into what was the very universal feeling of the princes of Asia at the time when the letter was written ; and it is not, I think, because the Dutch nation or the Portuguese nation or the British nation excelled one above the other in any special villainy, but that the Portuguese happened to be first in the field, and to be absolutely without any restraining influence such as was subsequently brought into operation when many European nations were competing each with each.

You are all aware that the first invasion of the East by Europeans took place at the time of the Roman Empire. The first deputation that the king of Ceylon sent to Europe was sent to the Roman Emperor in the time of Pliny the Elder. You are aware also, no doubt, that it was the Greek pilot, Hippolus, who first fought his way across the Indian Ocean and taught his fellows the art of sailing, not in sight of land but by the aid of the monsoon, into the great unknown, striking across from somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb to the coast of Western India. You are aware also that the trade of Asia, which was the most precious trade for Europe, was in the hands of Greek and Roman merchants almost until the time of the rise of Muhammad ; when the Muhammadan power spread with astonishing rapidity all over Africa, deep down into the Sudan, throughout Arabia, from Arabia into Persia, from Persia into Afghanistan, southward to Delhi, and formed an enormous barrier between East and West, and gave to the merchants of Arabia and Persia a monopoly which they enjoyed until, Vasco de Gama beating his way round the Cape, Europeans for the first time were able to evade the barrier which the Muhammadan power had reared up against them and had rendered absolutely impossible for them to scale.

The Portuguese were the nation which effected the great achievement of finding the road round the Cape of Good Hope and breaking down by evasion, not by conquest, the barrier that had so long been reared against the traders of Europe by the power of Islam. And, if you will study the records of the Portuguese, you will find that, to use a familiar colloquialism, they were very much "on the make,"—that they came to Asia not with any altruistic motives whatsoever, but purely to secure the trade of Asia that was then being passed into Europe only through the medium of Persia and Arabia, and that they were seeking not so much Empire as convenient trading stations, whereby they might command a monopoly of the trade of Asia. They were animated by an extreme desire for gain in this world and in the next. They wanted to make as much money as they could—and they were not particular as to their methods of making it—in this world, and they hoped by converting their fellow-creatures, whom they named indiscriminately Pagan, by the argumentative thumbscrew and the

persuasive rack, to gain for themselves also credit in the next world. They had very little scruple and curiously little sense of what we should describe as propriety.

For instance, the other day, when I was on leave, I went past some islands called Pulau Condor which, for a long time, were one of the great halting places of all the travellers between China and the Straits, and the Straits and China, from the days of Marco Polo and long before him. I was reminded that that was the scene of the headquarters of a certain high Portuguese official named Antonio Ferrão; who was sent on an embassy to a country called Petani from Malacca, and when he got there learned, to his extreme distress, that a certain ship in which he had invested most of his fortune had been captured by pirates. He was told the name of the pirate who had captured the ship in question. When he learnt that all his best schemes had gone awry, he incontinently threw his embassy overboard, raised a small troop of desperadoes in Petani and set out, and for four years harried the China seas, torturing a number of people to death in order to convince them of the love of the God who taught above all things the doctrine of the love of ones neighbour, and committed a number of excesses of a most extraordinary character, according to his own record, to his speedy enrichment. He was only, however, acting in a way that was, at that time, the approved fashion of the Portuguese in Asia.

Similarly, the greatest Viceroy who ever served Portugal, D'Albuquerque, when he went down from Goa in order to punish the Sultan of Malacca, in the course of his voyage committed no less than five acts of wanton piracy upon peaceful traders between India and Sumatra and that again, as I would point out, was the custom of the time and the spirit in which the Portuguese came into Asia.

But not so the Dutch and not so the British; but not because Mr. de Vos' ancestors or mine possessed any virtue that was singularly superior to that of the Portuguese, but because they were, after the manner of a well-known character in "The Old Curiosity Shop," anxious to prove that Codlin was the friend, not Short. Seeing that the Portuguese were already the possessors of a singularly vile reputation in Asia, the new-comers strove, in every possible way, to show that the Dutch and the British were not as others, and that they were to be trusted and to be relied upon, above all things, to destroy the Portuguese, but also to behave, on their own account, in a manner that would be a splendid contrast to the actions of their enemies. To a certain extent they justified that claim, and I think these letters, which we have heard to-night, are interestingly illustrative of the point of view which the Dutch had succeeded—Britishers at that time were more established in Malaya than this part of the world—in impressing upon the native Rájás for the time being that the Portuguese was the common enemy, against whom Dutch, British, and natives were all banded together, and that the Dutch and the British were both of them prepared to accept, more or less, the

position of vassalage which is attributed to them in these letters. in all humility, on the condition that they should inherit all the privileges which they hoped, with the aid of the native Rájás, to wrest from the hated Portuguese. That, to me, is one of the most interesting side-lights that have been found in the Paper which has been read to-night. With these few remarks, ladies and gentlemen, for which I would ask your indulgence, I beg to put to you the vote of thanks to Mr. Donald Ferguson for the admirable translation he has made of these letters. (*Applause.*)

11. The vote of thanks was unanimously passed.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS.

12. Dr. NELL, in proposing the following as Office-Bearers for 1909, referred to the great amount of work done by the Hon. Treasurer and the Hon. Secretaries and, in submitting the name of the gentleman to fill the office of President, said :—

As most of you are aware, Mr. Ferguson, much against our wishes, has retired, after serving for many years, and he himself has suggested the name of a worthy successor, the Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford. Mr. Clifford, a man of letters, has been interested in other parts of the East in regards delving into the mysterious—the history and manners and habits of peoples. He has betrayed himself this evening by his oration on the Portuguese in the East, and I am sure we can count on his showing a similar interest in the work of the Society.

*President.*—The Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G.

*Vice-Presidents.*—The Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis, MA., C.C.S. ; Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. ; Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P. ; the Hon. Mr. P. Arunácalam, MA., C.C.S.

#### *Council.*

Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.	Mr. E. R. Goonaratna, J.P., Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.	Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A. LL.M.	Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár.	Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A. C.C.S.	Mr. M. Kelway Bamber, M.R.A.C.
	Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.

*Honorary Treasurer.*—G. A. Joseph.

*Honorary Secretaries.*—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., J. Harward, and G. A. Joseph.

13. The PRESIDENT: It may be mentioned that Messrs Drieberg and Anthonisz were re-elected, having retired according to the Rules of the Society, and that Messrs. Denham, Kelway Bamber, and Jayatilaka are newly-elected Members.

14. Mr. A. N. GALBRAITH seconded, and the Office-Bearers were duly elected.

15. Mr. G. A. JOSEPH read the following Annual Report of the Council for 1908 :—

### ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1908.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for 1908 :—

*Meetings and Papers.*—Four General Meetings of this Society have been held during the year, at which the following Papers were read and discussed. :—

- (1) " Amongst the last Veddás," by Dr. Moszkowski.
- (2) " Notes on recent work among the Veddás," by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, M.D.
- (3) " Portuguese Ceylon at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century : a Sketch," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
- (4) " Lesser known Hills of the Batticaloa District and Lower Uva," by Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.

*Members*—During the past year thirty-three new Members were elected, viz. :—

The Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford, C.M.G.	D. Obeyesekere, M.A. F.R.C.I.
W. E. Wait, M.A., C.C.S.	R. H. Lock, M.A.
Dr. L. A. Prins, L.R.C.P. & S.	E. C. Anderson.
W. A. S. de Vos, Proctor and Notary.	J. L. Tancock.
J. A. Gunaratna, Mudaliyár.	G. E. Madawala, Proctor.
C. W. Horsfall.	J. Conroy, B.A., C.C.S.
The Hon. Mr. T. B. L. Moone- malle.	T. H. Chapman, A.M., I.C.E.
W. Vaughan, F.E.S.	Dr. W. C. Pieris, M.B., C.M.
J. Mathieson.	C. R. Arasaratnam (non- resident).
C. H. Jolliffe, A.M., I.M.E.	E. W. Jayawardana, Barrister- at-Law.
R. C. Kailásapilla, Mudaliyár.	Dr. E. Roberts, F.F.P.S., M.R.C.S.
A. Lewis.	T. G. W. Jayawardana, A.M., I.M.E.
A. N. Galbraith, B.A., C.C.S.	B. Constantine, B.A., C.C.S.
A. W. B. Redemann.	Rev. Walter J. Noble.
A. E. Murrell.	F. A. Obeyesekera, M.A.
Dr. H. F. Bawa, F.R.C.S.	A. M. Hamid.
G. W. Jayawardana, J.P.	

*Life Members*—Mr. C. M. Fernando M.A., LL.M., Crown Counsel, has become a Life-Member.

*Resigned.*—Three Members have resigned, viz., J. C. Hall, D. Finch Noyes, and Dr. W. G. Rockwood.

*Deaths*—The Council record with regret the death of following Members, viz., Dr. W. H. de Silva, F.R.C.S., and Mr. Charles Perera, Proctor, and also of Mr. J. Parsons, B.Sc., Principal Mineral Surveyor, a Member of the Council for 1908, who lost his life under peculiarly sad circumstances recently. Dr. W. H. de Silva joined the Society in 1894, and served in the Council from 1905. He regularly attended all General and Council Meetings.

Your Council passed the following Resolution regarding his death:—"That this Council desires to place on record its sense of the loss sustained by the lamented death of Dr. W. H. de Silva, a Member of Council for three years, and a Member of the Society for fourteen years."

The Society has now on its roll 281 Members; of these, 31 are Life Members and 10 Honorary Members.

*Publications.*—Two Numbers of the Journal, Vol. XIX., Nos. 58 and 59, were published during the year.

No. 58 contains, in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and General Meetings, the following Papers:—

(1) Notes on Painting, Dyeing, Lakwork, Dumbara Mats, and Paper in Ceylon," by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc.; (2) "Nuwara-gala, Eastern Province," by Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.; (3) "Roman Coins found in Ceylon," by Mr. J. Still; (4) "Notes on a find of Eldings made in Anurádhapura," by Mr. J. Still; (5) "Some Early Copper Coins of Ceylon," by Mr. J. Still; (6) "Joan Gideon Loten, F.R.S., the Naturalist Governor, and the Ceylonese Artist de Bevere," by Mr. Donald Ferguson; (7) "A few Remarks on Prehistoric Stones in Ceylon," by Mr. J. Pole.

No. 59 contains the following paper:—"The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.

*Barros and do Couto.*—The valuable "History of Ceylon from the earliest times to 1600 A.D. as related by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto," specially translated and edited for the Society by Mr. Donald Ferguson, and forming Vol. XX., No. 60, of the Society's Proceedings, will be issued free to Members as an extra number.

*List of Members.*—A list of all the present Members, with the names of all the past and present Office-Bearers from the beginning of the Society in 1845 and up to the close of 1908, has been compiled by Mr. F. D. Jayasinha, the Society's clerk and librarian, and is in the press.

*Library.*—The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 304. The Library is indebted for donations to the Government of India: the Archæological Survey of India: the Linguistic Survey of India: the Secretary of State for India in Council; the Archæological Survey of Burma: the Siam Society; the Royal Irish Academy; Sir R. C. Temple: Mrs. Ethel M. Coomaraswamy; Dr. A. Carroll: Mr. W. Harischandra; Mr. B. C. T. de Mello: Mr. R. L. Shaw; Mr. L. Jones: the Ceylon Planters' Association; the Ceylon University Association; Drs. Paul and Fritz Sarasin; Mr. A. F. M. Abdur Rahiman: the Consul for Netherlands at Colombo: the Director of Public Instruction: the Postmaster-General: the Hon. the Colonial Secretary; Mr. C. E. Low, I.C.S.; Mr. H. R. Nevill, I.C.S.; Major Huges Buller; Mr. F. R. Hamingway; Mr. Thibaut; Mr. Donald Ferguson; Dr. E. Denison Ross; Mr. H. Coues; Mr. M. Rengacharya; Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S.; Mr. R. V. Russel, I.C.S.; Mr. A. C. Taylor, M.A.; Mr. E. S. de Klerk; Mr. Know; Mr. W. Francis, I.C.S.; Mr. A. F. R. Hoernle, C.I.E.; and Captain E. J. Chambers.

The donations received during the year includes the Imperial Gazetteer of India, of which 23 volumes have been received, presented by the Secretary of State for India in Council.

For valuable exchanges received during the year the Society is indebted to the following:—

The Geological Society of London; California Academy of Sciences; the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; the Smithsonian Institute; Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Landen Volkenkunde, Batavia; Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin; John Hopkins University, Baltimore; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; the Royal University of Upsala; the Pali Text Society, London; the American Oriental Society; the Library of Congress, Washington; Société Zoologique de France; the Musée Guimet, Paris; the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia; the Bibliotheca Buddhica, St. Petersburg; De l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, St. Petersburg; the Royal Society of Victoria; the Royal Society of New South Wales, Sydney; U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington; the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington; the United States Geological Survey; the Geological Survey of Canada; the Asiatic Society of Japan; the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Anthropological Society of Bombay; the Asiatic Society of Bengal; K. K. Naturhistorischen Hopmuseums, Austria; the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig; the State Archives, Netherlands; the Bureau of Education, Washington; the Royal Colonial Institute; the Director-General of Archaeology, India; and l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanori.

*Accommodation.*—The Council note with satisfaction that the much-needed extension providing accommodation for the expansion of the Libraries now housed in the Museum is nearing completion.

#### ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The study of the Archæology of Ceylon is one of the most important of the objects of this Society; so it is with feelings of much satisfaction your Council note the steps taken by the Government for the continuance of the Archæological Survey and the increased votes given for the work in 1909.

The Archæological Commissioner has, as usual, courteously responded to the request of the Council to be favoured with a sketch of the operations of the Archæological Survey during 1908:—

##### I.—*Anurādhapura.*

*Clearing.*—Under orders from the Government the Archæological Survey labour force at Anurādhapura was employed for the first four months of 1908 exclusively in clearing jungle, and in further thinning out forest, so as to leave all areas—for the first time in one year—swept of rank vegetation.

The annual vote since 1898 of Rs. 4,000 for clearing ruins at Anurādhapura had proved insufficient, and was increased from

last year to Rs. 6,000. The several areas in and around Anurádhapura which are conserved by the Crown on account of the ancient ruins which they contain, cover eight hundred acres and upwards. The duty of keeping free of jungle all ruins (other than those included within the Town limits) falls to the Archæological Survey Department. The smaller vote previously allowed had not permitted of all these areas being cleared every year. Some had to wait their turn once in five or six years. The maximum extent hitherto cleared in any one year has been some five hundred and fifty acres. The additional sum of Rs. 2,000 made available enabled the Archæological Commissioner to cope in 1908 with every ruin-studded area at Anurádhapura. From the current year the ruins at Mihintalé will, if possible, be included regularly in the annual clearing.

The opening out of the ancient ruins to full view all the year round by under-wooding and weeding is markedly adding to the picturesqueness of Anurádhapura, besides providing a much appreciated boon to visitors, in the greater accessibility thus afforded to many out-of-the-way sites.

*Excavation.*—During the remaining eight months of the year the very small force left in Anurádhapura was fully engaged in the monotonous, but necessary, work of piling elsewhere the vast amount of *talus* thrown to spoil over the northernmost Rock (A) at Vessagiriya in 1906. The removal of these formidable banks of *d.bris* was essential in order to show up the outlines of the Rock and the ruins below it.

No fresh excavations were started in 1908.

## II.—*Poḷonnaruwa.*

Operations were resumed at Poḷonnaruwa in May, and continued until October.

*Clearing.*—The Promontory, Citadel, and other ruins (Quadrangle, Dévalés, Potgul Vehera Monastery) to north and south were first re-cleaned.

Subsequently the Sinhalese gang cut down the thick jungle growth hiding the immense forest-covered hillock, commonly known at the present day as "*Unagala Vehera*"—in reality the "*Damiḷa Thúpa*" constructed, according to the *Maháwaṇsa*, by Parákkrama Báhu the Great, with the aid of "the *Damiḷas* (Tamils) who were brought here from the Páṇḍu country after it had been conquered."\* This gigantic artificial mound is more than 700 yards in circuit at foot, or nearly three times the circumference of Rankot Vehera, usually reckoned the greatest of the Poḷonnaruwa Dágabas. It is flat at top, tending to prove, as its stupendous base alone would suggest, that this *thúpa* was never finished. A small Dágaba has been placed on its spacious summit at a later date.

Felling of undesirable forest trees between Rankot and Kiri Veheras commenced in 1907 was continued last season. The

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\* *Mahawaṇsa*, LXXVIII, 88.



latter Dágaba, and the towering walls of Jétawanárāma Viháre, are now to some extent exposed to view from the new approach road to the west.

*Excavations. Hindú Temples.*—Nearly a dozen ancient dévális, or shrines dedicated to gods of the Hindú pantheon, exist at Połonnaruwa. They favour the Siva cult for the most part; but two or three temples occur sacred to Vishṇu, usually ranged side by side with those of the rival yet not antagonistic sect.

A coterie—one Siva Déválé, a Vishṇu Déválé, and a Káli Kóvil—of these ruined Hindú temples, brick built, standing close to the Minnériya-Tópáveṇa road, was excavated in 1902.

In 1906 the premises of the smaller (No. 2) of the two Siva Déválés constructed of dressed granite and situated within the confines of the old City were wholly denuded of the earth under which the basements of the chief shrine and two subsidiary fanes lay buried. This pleasing little stone ruin (wrongly dubbed traditionally “Vishṇu-Déválé” until of late), characteristic of Dravidian architecture, if less elaborate and impressive than the better known Siva Déválé No. 1 (itself unaccountably called “Daḷadá Máligáwa,” for years past) is in a far better state of preservation. It still retains its dome almost intact.

The temenos of the larger temple (Siva Déválé No. 1) was similarly dealt with in 1907.

Work was also commenced, in the same year, at another isolated cluster of Hindú shrines—here also three in number, each distinct, yet closely adjacent—bordering the minor road to Divulankaḍawala. Of these, two clearly display Sivite peculiarities; the third was probably a temple of Vishṇu. The excavation of this congeries of shrines connected with Hinduism, besides that of another Siva Déválé and a second belonging to the Vishnuvite orthodoxy, was continued and completed during 1908.

Taking the four temples on the minor road in order:—

*Siva Déválé No. 3.*—Lies just across a Yóda-ēla (ancient irrigation channel) to east of the minor road. It was built of dry-laid granite blocks, similarly to Nos. 1, 2.\* Affecting the simplicity of Siva Déválé No. 2 within the City, it was even plainer, and altogether designed on a smaller scale. Dome and vestibule roof (once ceiled with stone slabs) had fallen in. Except on the north face of shrine and vestibule, scarcely any part remains above the basement, which was buried 3 ft. to 4 ft. below the ground level all round. The adytum, measuring only 7 ft. by 6 ft. 9 in., evidently once held a *lingam*, of which the broken *argha* was found at some distance; for a *pilla*, or stone spout, to carry off the unguents, still protrudes through the north wall.

The Déválé had two small satellite fanes.

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\* Of the Siva Déválés, so far known and excavated at Połonnaruwa Nos. 1, 2 (within the City walls), 3 (Divulankaḍawala road) are built in stone; Nos. 4 (Minnériya road), 5, 6 (Divulankaḍawala road) of brick and mortar.

*Siva Dēvālē No. 5.*—This shrine and its neighbour, Vishṇu Dēvālē No. 4, are in line opposite Siva Dēvālē No. 3, on the west. Erected in brick and heavily plastered with lime-mortar, it is the largest and the best preserved of its class. In places the walls are nearly perfect and rise 15 ft. or more above the ground, with the almost stereotyped surface ornamentation of cushion headed pilasters and central niches easily traceable.

The main temple included the sanctum (9 ft. square), two vestibules (inner and outer) slightly larger, and three *mandapam*—an exceptional number. The two inner *mandapam* were much of one size (24 ft. by 22 ft.), but the third and outermost was far more spacious—a forty-pillared hall, 75 ft. 6 in. by 35 ft. 8 in. in dimensions, set transept-like from north to south. The *lingam* and *argha* within the sanctuary had been ruthlessly destroyed in the search for treasure.\*

It stands within walled premises measuring some 50 yds. by 25 yds., and is surrounded by at least half a dozen subsidiary fanes. One of these was set apart for Ganēsa, and another for the *Sapta-Mātri*, or “Seven Mothers”—bas-reliefs of whom, carved on stone slabs, were unearthed hard by.

The dome either fell, or was toppled over deliberately, *en masse*. It lies, nearly whole, but upside down, outside the building at back. A frieze of *haṇsas* in stucco runs round the lower part.

*Vishṇu Dēvālē No. 4 †.*—Tentatively at least this shrine may be assumed to have been sacred to Vishṇu. Its premises (40 yds. by 23 yds.), not quite so large as those of the Siva Dēvālē No. 5 to south, are only separated from it by a wall common to both. It too was built of brick. Virtually nothing above the basement has survived. The Dēvālē comprised adytum, vestibules, and a *mandapam*. Like the neighbouring Siva Dēvālēs Nos. 3 and 5, the main entrance was on the east. The walls of the sanctum, weakened by lapse of time and neglect, had been unable to sustain the heavy masonry dome which had sunk down to the very floor in three sections. When freed of these masses of masonry, choking it, the chamber was found to be bare of all images, or *lingam*. The exterior ornamentation of the ruined cupola exhibits a string course of dentils, above a series of stucco figures in low relief. Among these is a five-hooded cobra, from which this group of ruins has taken their popular but incorrect name, “*Naipena Vihārē*.”

*Siva Dēvālē No. 6.*—Situated about half-a-mile further along the same minor road towards Ānaolondēwa, across the continuation of the Yōda-ēla which separates Siva Dēvālē No. 3 from Siva Dēvālē No. 5 and Vishṇu Dēvālē No. 3. The enclosure covers about 40 yds. by 33 yds., and contains, besides the predominant shrine, remains of three small fanes. In one a roughly carved figure of Ganēsa is still *in situ*.

\* A tiny gold Nandi, the bull of Siva, 1 in. in size, escaped notice. It is now in the Colombo Museum.

† Vishṇu Dēvālē No. 3, excavated in 1902, is on the Minnériya road.

Just outside the premises to south there is a somewhat larger fane pertaining to Vishṇu, wherein was exhumed a slab bearing the figure of that god, seated between his two wives—Lakshmi and Rukmini.

*Vishṇu Dēvālē No. 2.\**—This is, so far as known, the only temple specially sacred to Vishṇu within the City walls. It stands just inside the Northern Gateway to east. It was a granite-built shrine of two rooms (confined sanctum 6 ft. 9 in. square, and a vestibule of the same size) with a *mandapam*, or hall, in front. Of the last, the mere site alone is left. The roof and much of the walls of the Dēvālē have fallen, but the figure of the four-armed god still occupies the sanctuary, unbroken. This shrine alone, of all the Dēvālēs yet exploited, faces west instead of east.†

That Saivism was more than tolerated, the presence in close proximity of a small fane in front of, but outside, the Dēvālē enclosure, dedicated to Ganēsa, testifies.‡

All these Hindú temples of Poḷonnaruwa are now known to agree in certain broad features :—

(i.) They stand within walled enclosures, entered (well nigh invariably) on the east.

(ii.) The main shrine nearly always possesses two or more subordinate fanes lying off its sides or angles.

(iii.) The Siva and Vishṇu cults admitted each other to a share in the worship at the precincts of their respective Dēvālēs, by countenancing the erection of fanes sacred to gods of the rival persuasion.

(iv.) In plan, and exterior ornamentation, the Dēvālēs follow almost slavishly one type—bare walls, relieved in the middle by a nich flanked by pilasters crowned with cushion and spreading capitals, the whole crowned by well defined coping.

(v.) Both the inner vestibule and sanctuary were ceiled horizontally with stone slabs, and the latter domed in stone or in brick.

#### *Finds.*

Another valuable find of antiques was made at Poḷonnaruwa last season. Though not equalling those discovered in 1907 in number or variety, these include three or four bronze figures of gods (two of Mahādēva or Siva), a terracotta figurine of Ganēsa, and a stone figure, cut in full round, of the rat (*Perichchālī vākanam*) the *vāhana* of the god, bridled and richly caparisoned, besides a set of utensils of the kind employed to this day in the ceremonial worship of Hindú temples—bronze tray with tripod, bowl, incense vessel, bells, chanks, &c.

\* A Vishṇu Dēvālē (No. 1) must once have stood on the Promontory over-looking Tópāvēwa lake at the headland upon which the Revenue Officer's house has been built; for *inter alia* a sculptured slab with bas-reliefs of Vishṇu and his wives was unearthed at the site.

† This Dēvālē was partially excavated by Mr. Burrows in 1885. See Sessional Papers X., 1886.

‡ A rat sculptured in stone, *vāhana* of Ganēsa and a terracotta image of that god, were unearthed near.

A further find, unusual though of no intrinsic value, was a chatty containing five pounds weight of garnets, dug up casually in a gravel pit.

*Plan and Drawings of Polonnaruwa.*

The Survey Department has ready for issue excellent plans of Polonnaruwa on a scale of 16, 8, and 2 chains to the inch.

During the past season Mr. D. A. L. Perera, Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner and Head Draughtsman, nearly completed detailed measurements and preliminary drawings of the colossal rock-carved figures (recumbent and sedent Buddhas, and erect statue) at "Gal-Vihárá;" whilst Mr. W. M. Fernando, the other Assistant, has finished a set of coloured drawings (plan, elevation, and section) of the unique brick ruin, commonly known as "*Potgul Vehera*."\*

*Restoration.*

*Waṭa-dá-gé.*—Little more needs to be done at the *Waṭa-dá-gé*. The restoration of this magnificent "Circular Relic Shrine," constructed by King Niṣṣaṅka Malla (1198–1207 A.D.) entirely of stone (save for its central *Dágaba*), was finished in 1907. The pavement of the upper *maḷuwa* will have to be re-laid, and outlets provided for the rain water no longer kept out by a roof sustained formerly on the tall graceful columns all broken at this day.

"*Thúpáráma*."—In 1908 main attention was given to pushing on the repairs necessary to the "*Thúpáráma*" Vihárá. The work of filling up the cracks in the walls was continued last year from the point reached in 1907.

The south-east corner of the building, cracked diagonally from east to south, has been strongly strengthened.

The wide crack at the south-east angle between vestibule and shrine, into which the root of a ficus had wormed its way, was well opened out, and packing carried up in brick and cement masonry from foundation to the flat roof. This crack corresponds with that at the north-west angle of the two parts of the building put right in 1906.

A further crack extending to the roof along the soffit of the deep embrasure wherein the westerly window in the shrine's southern wall is fixed has also been joined, and the weathered archivolt on the outside renewed.

The later inset arch in the enterclose between vestibule and shrine was never properly bonded to the outer vault, and its walls had come away leaving gaps where roots had penetrated. This inner arch was, therefore, partly taken down and rebuilt.

Upon the completion of this work and the filling of all cracks in the walls (except that in the west face of the square tower, penetrating through to the interior of the building, which will be

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\* These were exhibited at the Annual Meeting.

seen to in 1909 when the damaged eastern inner wall of the shrine is renewed), a bed of cement concrete, 6 in. in thickness, was laid over the whole of the flat roof. The removal of the old roof coating proved it to consist of loose disintegrated lime mixed with earth, of no real protective value. A parapet gutter has been run round, and a slight slope given from the base of the central tower to pass off rain water freely.

No gargoyles appear to have been utilized in former days, the water merely finding its way through "weep-holes" in the parapet down the face of the walls; thereby causing serious damage. Next year (1909) proper spouts, not marring the architectural character of the structure, will be corbelled out, so as to throw the water clear of the foundations.

Another season's work will probably suffice to complete nearly all that remains to be done to ensure the permanent safety and due conservation of this handsome specimen of a Buddhist Vihárá, dating from the twelfth century, unique in retaining its arched roof to this day.

*Siva Dévalé No. 2.*—The stone ceiling slabs of the vestibule to this otherwise generally well preserved Hindú Shrine had in great part fallen in, exposing the foot of the dome over the sanctum, with the result that the door lintel was cracked owing to the weight of the dome being thus unduly thrown on it. Temporary support was given by stout timber shores. Last season (1908) all danger of collapse was averted by inserting iron planks, one inch thick, horizontally under the lintel and that part of the dome which connects with the vestibule.

The slab wall of the vestibule on the south-east has long been forced out of the plumb, and is in a somewhat critical condition. It will be taken down and re-set.

### III.—*Sigiriya.*

#### *Clearing.*

The Mápágala rocks on the south of Sigiri-gala were re-cleared in 1908, as well as the *piṭa-bemma*, or earthen ramp, marking the *enceinte* of *Sigiri-nuwara* to the east.

#### *Restoration and Conservation.*

The slopes of the "Lion-staircase House" (through which ascent was made to the upper part of the Gallery and Citadel on the summit of the Rock in former days) had become deeply scoured in places by water falling from the Rock. The exterior face of the western half of this brick structure was rebuilt last year in curvilinear stepped outline, and is now secure.

The necessity for diverting the water which falls from a fissure in the Rock scarp above, endangering the stability of the Gallery near its north-west corner, was referred to a year ago. Since then a "weather boarding," 24 ft. by 3 ft. (formed of stout iron planks

supported by struts jumped into the Rock), has been strongly fixed at some height above the Gallery at the point where water fell on it.\*

What remains of the Gallery at Sígiri is now fully protected overhead along its entire stretch.

### *Menikdena.*

The Sinhalese gang was detached for a while to clear ruins at “*Menikdena-nuwara*” (so called) near Embulambé, about seven miles from Dambulla in the Mátalé District. An extensive Buddhist monastery (styled *Budgam Vehera* on an inscribed slab discovered on the spot) flourished at this site in the tenth or eleventh centuries. Remains of a massively pillared vihāre, a substantial dágaba, and other buildings exist.

### *Epigraphical Work.*

No new part of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* has appeared since the issue of Parts II. and III. early last year. Responsibility for the issue of his Publication has, since 1908, been transferred to authorities in England, who have undertaken to supervise Mr. Wickremesinghe's work. Mr. Wickremesinghe has ample materials in his hands—some sixty inscriptions and upwards—for several more Parts of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.

The copying of further inscriptions within the Island, both as eye-copies and “estampages,” has been steadily carried on during the past year by the Archæological Survey Department. All known lithic records of the Central Province were copied by the end of 1908. The stock of inscription “squeezes” thus collected is being gradually photographed, before the paper copies become damaged or mislaid.

### COUNCIL.

Under Rule 16 Messrs. C. M. Fernando and A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár, had to retire by seniority, and Dr. A. J. Chalmers and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Fowler, C.M.G., by least attendance, but two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election, Messrs. C. M. Fernando and A. M. Gunasékara were re-elected, and the vacancies in the Council were filled by the appointment of Messrs. J. Parsons, B.Sc., and H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. P. Arunáchalam having been elected a Vice-President, his place in the Council was filled by the appointment of Mr. E. R. Goonaratna, Gate Mudaliyár.

The vacancy caused by the death of Dr. W. H. de Silva was filled by the appointment of Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Mudaliyár.

### THE VĒDDÁS.

The trained Anthropologist, Dr. Seligmann, who, on the representation of the Council of this Society and the exertions of Mr. John Ferguson, President, and Dr. A. Willey, F.R.S., Vice-President,

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\* For the erection of this substantial fender, involving ever-present risk to life during its construction, great credit is due to the Sinhalese village blacksmith who carried through, with perfect success, an extremely difficult and dangerous piece of work.

was sent out to Ceylon to make a final study of Védďá traditions and socialogy, completed his labours and left the Island in May last. Your Council look forward with interest to the publication of Dr. Seligmann's work, a foretaste of which was given to Members in the illustrated lecture, entitled "Recent Work amongst the Védďás," delivered at a Special General Meeting on May 25 last.

#### INLAND FISHERIES AND CULTURAL OPERATIONS AT LAKE TAMBLEGAM.

Your Council note with satisfaction that the Government has seen its way to make some provision in the estimates for cultural operations at Lake Tamblegam and for inland fisheries' investigations.

#### THE "MAHÁWAṆSA."

Your Council's opinion was sought by the Ceylon Government as to the desirability of reprinting the *Maháwaṇsa*. In reply, the Council stated that while it is most desirable that the translation should be reprinted before this is done, it is also desirable that the translation and notes should be thoroughly revised, edited, and published, and suggested that scholars in India and Ceylon should be consulted it as to how the book could be improved in re-editing. A list of such scholars was called for and supplied. It was pointed out by your Council that the actual work of re-editing must necessarily be submitted to one or more scholars resident in Ceylon, whose knowledge of Páli and English qualify them for the task, and that such editors should obtain the views of the scholars named as to the ways in which the book can be improved and rendered more useful both to scholars and general readers.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunácalam, M.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár, Chief Translator to Government, were nominated co-editors for Ceylon without remuneration, and Professor Rhys Davids was asked to accept the post of Editor for Europe.

The following letter\* from Professor Rhys Davids to the Ceylon Government was sent to your Council which has recommended that the suggestions contained in it should be adopted:—

SIR,—I WAS enabled at the International Congress of Orientalists held in August last in Copenhagen, and at the International Congress of Religions held at Oxford in September last, to consult with many of the leading scholars in Europe and America concerning the proposal contained in your letter of July 4 last.

It is scarcely necessary to state that the fact of the Government of Ceylon contemplating a new revised translation of the *Maháwaṇsa* evoked very great satisfaction, the existing one being not only based on an imperfect text, but being so difficult to obtain in Europe, that but few scholars can possess or have access to a copy of it.

The scholars consulted by me were, without any exception, of opinion that the best way to obtain a translation of a thoroughly satisfactory kind would be to entrust the work to some one scholar of

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\* Dated November 20, 1908.

first class critical training and wide acquaintance both with Páli literature and with the latest methods of historical and philological research.

Such a scholar, feeling both the responsibility and the credit of the work, would give to every detail of it the advantage of his long training and accurate knowledge; and he would be able to make the best possible use of suggestions made by the members of the Committee whose names appear in the enclosure to your letter.

Were such a scholar entrusted with the work, the general lines on which the work should be done would be determined by the Government of Ceylon in the terms of the agreement made with the translator. It would, I presume, be the duty of the editors in Ceylon and Europe to consider any suggestions made by members of the Committee and report to the Government generally the question, and especially on the point whether any of those suggestions, and if so which of them, should be incorporated in the agreement with the translator.

With regard to the choice of a translator there can, in my humble opinion, be very little doubt. Professor Geiger of Erlangen University has devoted several years to a special detailed study of the Maháwaṃsa. He has written an admirable volume on the sources of its information, and its relation to the other historical books of Ceylon. He has just completed his new critical edition of the original text, of which I have the honour to forward a copy to you now. He is a scholar of quite first class rank and a rapid worker, and if he could be induced to undertake the work under such conditions as the Government of Ceylon should consider it advisable to determine, he could be fully trusted to bring the work to completion within a reasonably short space of time and in a satisfactory manner.

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For the remainder of the translation, that of the continuation of the Maháwaṃsa added at various times to the original text, it will be an important question for consideration whether the text itself should not be revised before the translation is undertaken. It might be advisable to refer this point to Professor Geiger for report.

Nothing seems to have been definitely settled as yet as to the duties of an editor. It would seem most difficult, if not impossible, to formulate any scheme by which the editors should become responsible for any of the details of the work, and it is probably not intended that they should. In that case I should be prepared to act without remuneration as Editor for Europe.

I am, &c.,  
T. W. RHYS DAVIDS,  
Chairman, Pali Text Society.

It was decided by the Government that as a considerable time must elapse before any decision can be arrived at with regard to the form of the new edition, that 100 copies of the existing translation of the "Maháwaṃsa" be reprinted.

#### FINANCES.

Annexed to this Report is balance sheet showing expenditure and receipts for 1908. Attention must be drawn to the unpardonable neglect of a large number of Members in delaying payment of their subscriptions. The arrears of subscription due by Members up to the close of the year is about Rs. 2,400. Steps will be taken to enforce the rule against defaulters.



## PRESIDENTSHIP.

The Hon. Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., resigned the office of President of the Society in November last owing to his departure from Ceylon for a period that was likely to be protracted.

The Council desire to place on record their sense of indebtedness to the Hon. Mr. Ferguson for the exceedingly valuable services which he has rendered to the Society during the past forty years as Member of the Society, Member of the Council, Vice-President, and President. The Society is specially indebted to him for his valuable contributions to the Journal, for his Presidential addresses, and for much work and zeal displayed in the interest of the Society which has borne fruit in a substantial increase both of the Members of the Society and of the Papers contributed to it during the years of his Presidentship.

## CONCLUSION.

The Society during the year showed more than its usual vitality—a fact which the Council have much pleasure in noting. The continued co-operation of Members in the work of the Society is looked for with confidence.

[For statement see page 289.]

16. The adoption of the Report was duly moved, seconded, and carried.

17. The CHAIRMAN: I notice that it is ten minutes to eleven, and the twelfth item on the agenda is "Remarks by the Chairman." In these circumstances I think the fewer the remarks the better it will please you and your Chairman.

I cannot let the occasion pass without expressing what I know is the sentiment of all of you—the very great debt of gratitude which this Society owes to Mr. John Ferguson, who devoted himself to the affairs of this Society with the zeal and enthusiasm which characterize all his public work; and I repeat that the Society owes him a very great debt of gratitude, an acknowledgment of which we ought to place upon record to-night before we separate. (*Applause.*)

I feel sure that you share with me, although perhaps not in quite an equal degree, my great regret that Mr. Ferguson has ceased to be President of the Society though only, I trust, for a short time. I say not in quite an equal degree, because upon me devolves now the duty of filling, very inadequately, the place which he has filled so well in the past. My only satisfaction is that in becoming the President of this Society I am not expected to give a ten-guinea cup periodically for Members to compete for (*laughter*), but beyond that somewhat cold comfort I must confess that it fills me with a good deal of dismay to accept the honour to have to preside at meetings of persons so very learned as the Members of this Society are, and to have to do so after the place has been so very much better filled by Mr. Ferguson. I feel that I have an extreme sense of grievance against Mr. Ferguson because, not acting in his usual way, he took what I regarded as an

*Balance Sheet for 1908*

RECEIPTS.	Amount. Rs. c.	Total. Rs. c.	EXPENDITURE.	Amount. Rs. c.	Total. Rs. c.
Balance from 1907 ..	—	323 45	Printing Account ..	—	1,201 34
Life Membership Payments ..	—	50 0	Charges Account ..	—	479 13
Entrance Fees ..	—	215 25	Books Account ..	—	18 50
Government Grant for 1908 ..	—	500 0	Establishment and Salaries Account ..	—	964 92
Annual Subscriptions :—			Balance to 1909, Bank of Madras ..	249 26	
1905 ..	21 0		Balance cash in hand ..	11 50	
1906 ..	73 50				260 78*
1907 ..	372 50				
1908 ..	1,353 70				
1909 ..	15 25				
		1,835 95			
Total ..		2,924 65	Total ..		2,924 65

\* Besides in fixed deposit, Rs. 1,218.22.

GERARD A. JOSEPH,  
Honorary Treasurer.

excessively mean advantage of me. I had gone away for a few weeks to Indo-China, and, hardly was my back turned, before Mr. Ferguson departed for Europe, and landed me in the position in which I now find myself, without communicating with me his intention before his departure. However, for this year at any rate, I shall have very great pleasure in filling the post that has been assigned to me, and none of you can share more heartily than I do the hope that Mr. Ferguson will be back at the end of the year, and will resume his old place as President of the Society. I do not mean to detain you longer than I can help, but I would endorse what Mr. Denham (in seconding the adoption of the Annual Report) has said as regards Papers. I think there are many Members present, and many Members who are not present, to-night who could unquestionably help the Society, and who could supply us with very interesting matter, and I would make a personal appeal to them not to hide their light under a bushel, but to give Members of the Society the benefit of their knowledge. I would also point out that though we are by way being a learned Society, it is a mistake to think that a learned Society must necessarily be a dull Society. Because a thing is interesting it is not the slightest reason why it should be dealt with as though it was heavy as lead, and Members who will supply us with Papers interesting and suggestive and written in vital vivid English will do a very great service to us.

There is one point which, I feel sure, you will shed tears with me about, and that is the very small number of Civil Servants who appear to me to belong to the Society. I do not think that it is a fair proportion, considering the very large number of Civil Servants who are resident in Colombo, especially as it seems to me that one of the primary duties of a Civil Servant is to know the history and traditions of the country which it is his business to serve. I hope that my brother officers in the Service will in large numbers join the Society and become active Members of it, and that appeal also I should like to make not only to Members of the Civil Service, but to everybody in Ceylon who takes an interest in the past as well as the present and the future of this very magnificent Colony. (*Applause.*)

18. The Hon. Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, whose term of office was destined to be of the greatest benefit to the Society. He had explored many fields—anthropology, history, religion, &c.,—and his literary reputation had spread far beyond the confines of this Colony. They looked forward to benefiting from his rich store of knowledge, which he was able to present in such an interesting and vivid form. The example of the Hon. Mr. Clifford and the appeal he had just made ought to be an inducement and a stimulus to the Civil Servants of the Island as well as to all others to join the Society in greater numbers and to help it with learned and interesting contributions.

19. Mr. FREUDENBERG seconded.

The Meeting then terminated.

## SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, May 14, 1909.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Govern- ment Archivist.	Mr. T. G. Jayawardene, A.M.I.M.E.
Dr. H. F. Bawa, F.R.C.S.	Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed.
Mr. C. D. Carolis.	Mr. D. Montagu, A.M.I.C.E.
Mr. J. A. Daniel, B.A.	Mr. C. Namasivayam, J.P.
Mr. P. de Abrew.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.	Mr. J. B. M. Ridout.
Mr. D. Devapuraratna, Proctor, S.C.	Mr. P. Rámanáthan, K.C., C.M.G.
Ven. F. H. de Winton.	Mr. A. E. Roberts, Proctor.
Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A.	Dr. E. Roberts, F.F.P.S., M.R.C.S.
Mr. A. H. Gomes, F.B.I. (London).	Mr. R. Sagarájasingam.
Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Muda- liyár.	Mr. W. A. Samarasingha.
Mr. I. Gunawardana, Muda- liyár.	Dr. D. Schokman, F.R.C.S.
	Mr. A. W. Seymour, C.C.S.
	Mr. G. W. Sturgess, M.R.C.V.S.
	S. Sumaṅgala Terunnánsé.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Thirty-six ladies and sixty-two gentlemen.

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*Business.*

1. The CHAIRMAN said they would dispense with the usual formality of reading the Minutes, as they had assembled there to listen to a lecture by Dr. Ánanda Coomáraswámy. No words were required from him to introduce the lecturer to them. They all knew what a distinguished career his father had. Dr. Coomáraswámy's own monumental work on "Mediæval Sinhalese Art," which no man with intelligence could read without great pleasure, was well known to most of them. Without detaining them longer he would call upon Dr. Coomáraswámy. They were glad at the happy opportunity which enabled them to welcome him at that Meeting, and were grateful to him for having come.

2. Dr. COOMÁRASWÁMY then proceeded with his lecture, the room being darkened.

The first few slides thrown on the screen represented sculpture in the days of Asóka. Incidentally, the lecturer said the Indian idea of art was contained in the Sanskrit word *russa*, which covered the whole gamut of human passion. There were nine *russas*, and the ninth *russa* was the consummation or contradiction of the others—dispassion. Therefore, one true test of Indian art was whether it represented passion. Indian art was always religious art, and even secular art was dominated by religion. The truest interpretation of art was when the absolute *russa*—concentration of passion—was expressed. The slides thrown on the screen illustrated this idea very clearly. The pre-occupation of the Western mind with Greek and Italian art made it difficult to understand and appreciate Gothic, Egyptian, and Indian art. Indian art was related to *yógi*—i.e., it was dominated by conception of the Buddha. The artist himself was religious, and his conceptions were formed while in a state of spiritual ecstasy. It was said that such spiritual vision presented the picture before the artist more clearly than if he saw with his physical vision. A third way in which Indian art was related to *yógi* was by the purpose of Indian art. There were one or two details in the physical form peculiar to Indian art: long arms, narrow waists, and extreme severity of outline.

Dr. Coomáraswámy showed a series of pictures running through a few centuries: bronzes, and specimens of Sinhalese sculpture. He referred to the valuable discoveries of the Archæological Commissioner, and the close connection between Maháyána and Indian art. Among the bronzes shown was one of Uma in the attitude of giving instructions, probably to Sivan. The “form divine” was usually in the shape of a woman, which indicated the true feelings with which womenkind was regarded in those early days.

The lecturer had so far confined his remarks to Indian art in the South. He now went on to Indian art in the North of India, and exhibited some magnificent specimens of sculpture. Having spoken of sculpture he passed to painting, and showed several beautiful specimens—typical of the true idealistic school. The charming freedom and graceful treatment of life in that age in palace and hovel were cleverly depicted in the specimens shown.

From India Dr. Coomáraswámy crossed to Java, which was started with a Buddhist civilization, and consequently its art was of the most beautiful. Several slides showed Buddha going to Java on a lotus flower, and a number of deities. One of the pictures of the Buddha brought out strikingly the beauty and serenity of the figure. There were not only the remains of Buddhist art in Java, but Hindu art as well.

The lecturer then took his hearers back to Northern India and showed several specimens of Nepalese Maháyána Buddhist art.

Having reviewed the history of Indian art up to the 12th century in the North and the 16th century in the South, the lecturer touched on the degeneracy of Indian art in the 19th

century, showing two figures in illustration. He next referred to a school of miniature water colour painters in the days of the Moghuls, and exhibited some pictures of their work in which there was much tenderness and refinement. He finally alluded to the work of Mr. Tagore, the well-known Bengalee painter and his two pupils, and showed some of their work.

3. The PRESIDENT invited remarks from members present.

4. Mr. PIERIS said that the silence that followed the end of the lecture was the most worthy tribute to Dr. Coomáraswámy. It was an acknowledgment that all were prepared to join in. There was no one in that hall competent to express an opinion on the subject. They could only sit at the feet of the master and go home and realize how ignorant they were of their own country. Dr. Coomáraswámy had pointed out to them what they were turning their backs on what was in front of them. He was going to a larger sphere. They regretted it, but they could not grudge India having Dr. Coomáraswámy.

5. Mr. A. E. ROBERTS and SÚRIYAGODA SUMANGALA TERUNÁNÉSÉ also offered some remarks.

6. The PRESIDENT said they would be wanting in their duty if they forget to thank Dr. Coomáraswámy heartily for having come there and favoured them with his lecture. As Mr. Pieris had said, there was no one there competent to criticise the lecture effectively. All they could do was to take inspiration from it. He moved a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer.

7. The Hon. Mr. P. ARUNÁCHALAM proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the President, which concluded the proceedings of the Meeting.

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## APPENDIX.

### DR. COOMÁRASWÁMY ON INDIAN ART.\*

THE learned author of the standard work on " Mediæval Sinhalese Art " dealt altogether admirably with the historical side of Indian Art from the earliest known periods of which there are any survivals. He showed in considerable detail the influence of the various vicissitudes attending the great races that have inhabited Hindustán. Further, there was a vast deal that was well reasoned in his theory, which pervaded the whole lecture, that it was practically impossible for Westerners properly to appreciate the merits of the successive schools of art that have prevailed through the course of Indian history. Their conception of religion, in which lies inspiration of art in any country, has been different from that of the West from time immemorial; and in so far as the inner meaning of art is concerned, it is undeniable that Europeans

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\* *Ceylon Observer*, May 15, 1909.

can never quite place themselves behind the minds of the Indian artists, however artistic and religious themselves, in the way that Indians can, with centuries of tradition behind them and a large heritage of Oriental religious training and outlook. Dr. Coomáraswámy (who boasts a fair proportion of Eastern blood in his veins), was specially fitted from his study of Western as well as Eastern Art to unfold the beauties and significance of the various selections of work which he was able to throw upon the screen. His hearers, however, must have disagreed with him as to the beauty and grace of many of the figures which he praised for those special qualities, their anatomical and other features being often decidedly out of correct drawing, while some essential features were eliminated altogether. The idea behind this—of concentrating the attention on prominent thoughts or emotions conveyed by the figures—is all very well as an idiosyncrasy of race; but, criticising it as a human being and *not* as a Westerner opposed to the Oriental, we cannot agree with Dr. Coomáraswámy that in such drawings or sculpture the true conception of art is fulfilled. Art must first of all represent *some true thing*; but it must represent it in a way that carries conviction to the untrained as well as the trained artistic eye, the spectator being compelled to say at once that the thing is “right.” In his dealing, therefore, with the executive perfection of Indian artists, we think that the learned lecturer failed to take due account of universal canons which remain unaffected by any age, race, or clime.

A Buddhist priest of high learning argued with the lecturer on his handling of the Buddhist religion, warmly differing from him on the theory that Yogism and Buddhism were one and the same.

We look forward with interest to the results of Dr. Coomáraswámy's further study of Buddhist Art in Java and India.

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#### DR. COOMÁRASWÁMY ON HIS LECTURE, &c.

May 15, 1909.

DEAR SIR,—WITH regard to the remarks in your leader I need say very little. The contrast between your views and those which are held by the few European artists who are acquainted with the real achievements of Indian art is indeed remarkable. I have no wish to start a controversy on the merits of Indian art, which may be left to speak for itself to those who have any real knowledge of it; but I may quote for your information a recent pronouncement by one English artist, lately for many years Principal of the Calcutta School of Art:—

“To him the study of Indian sculpture and painting had been an opening into a new world of artistic thought, full of the most wonderful charm. Indian sculpture had reached to greater imaginative heights than any other in the world.”

There are many works on Indian Archæology. May I recommend to your readers what is practically the only one on Indian Art, viz., Mr. Havell's “Indian Sculpture and Painting,” published last year by Mr. Murray.—Yours, &c.,

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

## DR. COOMÁRASWÁMY'S LECTURE.\*

IN reference to Dr. Coomáraswámy's letter elsewhere we certainly regret the deficiencies in the report of his lecture, but when no suitable provision is made for the press and reporters sent to do their duty by the public are in difficulties, it is hardly to be expected, especially when they are taking notes in the dark, that an accurate report can be obtained. As to the differences between our views and those held by the lecturer and the few European artists he refers to, our correspondent does not touch upon the point of *defective execution* which was most noticeable in much of the art that he praised on Friday evening. We have, therefore, nothing further to argue on this point. It does not clash with the opinion he quotes that Indian art provides a new world of artistic thought. However artistic it may be, we contend that defective execution is probably more prominent in Indian drawing than in the art of any other country. There were a certain number of slides shown, depicting art to be found in Ceylon: these were not among those least praised by the lecturer. In contrast however to his view we may quote from Mr. Reginald Farrer's recent book "In Old Ceylon," which, however flowery in language and imaginative in treatment, certainly shows a close study of ancient artistic work in the temples of Anurádhapura and elsewhere. This is what he says :—

"In Ceylon of to-day the pious need fear no distraction, no seduction, by beauty; he may be very sure that any emotion he may feel in even the oldest shrines is born only of his own soul, of his own unassisted, unadulterated zeal; for to squalor and dirt the Sinhalese temples, add a sense of the ugly that is almost miraculous. In glaring, gaudy colours you will see everywhere the most hideous pictures—crude illustrations of the birth-stories of our Lord, or the daughters of Mára clad in sailor hats and the fashions of 1894, most unsexually tempting the followers of the Buddha, whose resistance in such circumstances, is neither to be wondered at nor counted to their credit. Then in the central shrine, there will be innumerable tawdrinesses and horrors of tinsel—big gilt statues jostling with marble ones, unrealities, shams, ugliness, and huddle."

## INDIAN ART.†

May 18.

DEAR SIR,—INASMUCH as I myself used two Ceylon pictures in my lecture, to illustrate the great degeneration of Indian Art in modern times, I do not see the point of your quotation against me of Mr. Farrer's just denunciation of modern temple decoration in Ceylon. I am afraid that I cannot agree with you in regarding the test of anatomical accuracy as an illuminating one to be applied to works of art. A far more universal and real standard is that of Leonardo da Vinci's which I quoted :—

"That execution is best which best expresses the passion that animates the figure."

\* *Ceylon Observer*, May 17, 1909.† *Ceylon Observer*, May 18, 1909.



The much commoner (because easier) tests of archæological and anatomical accuracy indicate a confusion of the aims of art with those of science; and would rule out not a little of the finest European art, including many "Old Masters." At the same time I do not agree with you in thinking that Indian artists of the best period failed to attain to an exceedingly high level of technical efficiency. In conclusion, I must apologise for again intruding upon your valuable space.—Yours, &c.,

A. K. COOMÁRASWÁMY.

[We regret we were under a wrong impression as to the reason why specimens of Art in Ceylon were shown. We should not insist on anatomical accuracy in drawings as essential, were the da Vinci standard in a great degree realized by any picture; but when the anatomical inaccuracy in Indian art is so great as to achieve a positive distortion, the distraction is too great and the art fails to be great, or, in our view, true art at all.—ED., C. O.]

#### INDIAN AND EUROPEAN ART.\*

DEAR SIR,—DR. COOMÁRASWÁMY is riding this theory of the beautiful in Oriental sculpture and painting to death. You did well to point out the defects of much in Indian lines. It is so easy to work oneself up into a frenzy about "Indian Art"—its "artistic thought" and "wonderful charm"—if you make up your mind to ignore "anatomical inaccuracy" and other deficiencies. Some of the Northern Indian figure sculpture—*Gandhára* to wit—where the *Greek* influence is so marked is splendid. On the other hand to my mind the ordinary ruck is miserable, save occasionally for a quaint and not unpleasing grotesqueness. No doubt Dr. Coomáraswámy will explain this away by "degeneracy," &c.; and the poorness of most *Ceylon* work at least demands some such excuse from him. It is the fashion for "Orientals" to waive us poor "Westerners" loftily away with the pitying remark that we cannot possibly from our upbringing enter into the "soul" of the East! Surely it cuts both ways. Our notions of *true art* may never strike these Indian dreamers and faddists. Dr. Coomáraswámy ("Indian Craftsman," p. 73) writes:—"Beauty, rhythm, proportion, idea, have an absolute existence on an ideal plane, *where all who seek may find.*" Would that it were so! "The reality of things exists in the mind, not in the detail of their appearance to the eye." To the "man in the street" it does not matter a straw what may have been in the artist's mind, if he has not reflected it in his work.

It may interest Dr. Coomáraswámy to learn that the Clarendon Press Directors have commissioned that past-master in Northern Indian antiquities, Mr. Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., to write a standard work on "Indian and Ceylon Art."—I am, &c.,

WESTERNER.

\* *Ceylon Observer*, 1909.

## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, July 14, 1909.*

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Govern- ment Archivist.	Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Muda- liyár.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.	Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.
Mr. C. Driberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.	Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Muda- liyár.
Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.	

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on February 25, 1909.

2. Laid on the table the following list of Members elected by Circular :—

A. W. Seymour, C.C.S. : recom- mended by	{ J. Still. E. B. Denham.
G. A. F. Senaratna : recom- mended by	{ L. A. Mendis G. A. Joseph.
Dr. D. Schokman, F.R.C.S.E. : recommended by	{ C. M. Fernando. G. A. Joseph.
C. E. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law : recommended by	{ R. G. Anthonisz. F. H. de Vos.
T. Reid, B.A., C.C.S., recom- mended by	{ G. W. Woodhouse. G. A. Joseph.
F. H. Chambers, B.A., C.C.S. : recommended by	{ L. S. Woolf. J. Harward.
T. A. Hodson, M.A., C.C.S. : re- commended by	{ J. Still. W. E. Wait.
H. S. Cameron : recommended by	{ H. Storey. J. Still.
W. T. Southorn, B.A., C.C.S. : recommended by	{ J. Harward. E. B. Denham.

- T. E. Karunatilaka : recom- { W. P. Ranasingha.  
mended by { G. A. Joseph.  
Mr. C. T. D. Vigors, C.C.S. : { H. C. P. Bell.  
recommended by { G. A. Joseph.  
J. D. Brown, B.A., C.C.S. : { P. E. Pieris.  
recommended by { G. A. Joseph.  
G. F. Plant, B.A., C.C.S. : { P. E. Pieris.  
recommended by { J. Conroy.  
B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S. : { H. C. P. Bell.  
recommended by { G. A. Joseph.

3. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected Members:—

- T. A. Carey, B.A., C.C.S. : { H. C. P. Bell.  
recommended by { G. A. Joseph.  
Dr. V. Goonaratne, L.M. & S. : { P. E. Pieris.  
recommended by { G. A. Joseph.  
S. Obeyesekere, Barrister-at- { P. E. Pieris  
Law : recommended by { G. A. Joseph.  
C. A. Galpin : recommended by { A. Lewis.  
{ F. Lewis.  
F. Jayatileke, Proctor, S.C. : { R. A. P. Siriwar-  
recommended by { dana.  
{ G. A. Joseph.

4. Laid on the table Circular No. 45 of February 6, 1909, with the opinions of Messrs. J. Harward and R. G. Anthonisz on a Paper entitled "Notes on Delft," by the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading at a Meeting and published in the Journal.

5. Laid on the table Circular No. 87 of March 1, 1909, containing the opinions of Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and Simon de Silva, Mudaliyār, on manuscript entitled "Andrew's Journal of a Tour to Candia in the Year 1796," with Notes and Introduction by the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., and a copy of a letter from Mr. D. Ferguson to the *Ceylon Observer* intimating that "Andrew's Journal of the Tour to Candia in 1795" is among the records of the India Office.

Resolved,—That the Journal and Notes be accepted by the Society, but not published until a copy of the earlier Journal of 1795 be obtained from the India Office.

6. Laid on the table Mr. A. E. Buultjens' Paper entitled "The Dutch East India Company and the Peace of Amiens," with a précis of pages 7, 8, 9, and 10 of the Paper.

Resolved,—That the Paper be not accepted for publication, but that Mr. Buultjens be thanked for offering it to the Society.

7. Read letters from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary to Professor T. W. Rhys Davids dated March 16 and May 21, 1909, regarding the publication of a revised translation of the *Mahāvāṇsa*.

8. Laid on the table papers connected with a proposed "Glossary of Words peculiar to Kandyan Sinhalese," by Mr. T. B. Pohath, referred to the Society by the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

Resolved,—That the papers be referred to Mudalyár Simon de Silva, and he be asked to report if the glossary of words is of any value.

9. Laid on the table a letter from Dr. A. Nell suggesting time limit for speakers at Meetings.

Resolved,—That the following Rule be passed and notified at the next General Meeting :—

"No speaker taking part in a discussion shall be allowed to speak more than five minutes, unless specially permitted to do so by the Chairman."

10. Laid on the table and passed a proposed Circular drafted by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Honorary Secretary, regarding information for those desirous of joining the Society.

11. Laid on the table a letter from the University of Illinois Library, U.S.A., requesting exchange of Publications.

It was resolved that in view of the large number of Institutions already on the exchange list, the Council regrets that it is unable to comply with the request.

12. Considered the passing of a vote of condolence on the death of Mr. C. M. Fernando.

Resolved,—That the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society wishes to record its sympathy and condolence with the family of the late Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M., and to express its sense of the loss which it has sustained by his death, in the following Minute :—

"By the death of Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M., Senior Crown Counsel, Ceylon, this Society has lost one of its most valued members. He joined the Society in 1889, and was a member of the Council from 1896, and at his death the senior member. He was a regular attendant at Meetings; and to the part which he took in its discussions and to his contributions, the Proceedings of Meetings and the Journals of this Society owe much of their interest and value."

"To the Journals of this Society Mr. Fernando contributed the following Papers :—(1) The Music of Ceylon (No. 45, 1894); (2) The Inauguration of the King in Ancient Ceylon (No. 47, 1896); (3) A Note on the Palæography of Ceylon (No. 55, 1904); (4) Two Old Sinhalese Swords (No. 56, 1905)."

13. Resolved,—That the vacancy on the Council caused by the death of Mr. C. M. Fernando be filled by the appointment of the Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford, C.M.G.

14. Considered the date and business for next General Meeting.

Resolved,—That a Meeting be held on either August 3, 4, 16, 17, or 18, 1909, and that the business be left in the hands of the President and the Secretaries.

## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, August 18, 1909.*

Present :

His Excellency the Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President,  
in the Chair.

The Hon. Sir J. T. Hutchinson, Kt., M.A., Vice-Patron.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. E. S. Dassanaiké, B.A., Barrister-at-Law.	Mr. A. E. Murrell.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.	Mr. C. Namasiváyam, J.P.
Mr. D. Devapuraratna, Proctor, Supreme Court.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. C. A. Galpin.	Mr. A. E. Roberts, Proctor.
Mr. A. H. Gomes.	Mr. R. Sagarájasingam.
Mr. I. Goonawardana, Mudaliyár.	Dr. V. R. Saravanamuttu, M.D.
Lady Hutchinson.	Dr. D. Schokman, F.R.C.S.
Mr. A. Lewis.	Mr. J. M. Senaviratna.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.	Mr. A. W. Seymour, C.C.S.
	S. Sumangala Terunnánsé.
	Mr. F. A. Tissaverasinghe, Advocate.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Nine ladies and ten gentlemen.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of General Meeting held on February 26 and May 14, 1909.
2. HONORARY SECRETARY announced the names of Members elected since the General Meeting held on February 26, 1909.
3. The CHAIRMAN : It now becomes my duty, Ladies and Gentlemen, to propose for your adoption a Rule suggested at the last Meeting of the Council.\* It runs as follows :—"No speaker taking part in a discussion on a Paper read at a Meeting may speak for more than five minutes, unless expressly permitted to do so by

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\* The necessity for such a Rule had been forced upon the Council by the unconscionable length of speeches by certain Members at past General Meetings.—*Ed. Sec*

the Chairman." It is proposed that in future the Chairman should be armed with an hour glass which will not mark hours but minutes ; that he should have two of them : and that he should start a full one when a Member begins to speak in discussing any Paper that has been read, and that, if he considers it advisable, he should, when the five minutes have elapsed, call the attention of the speaker to the fact. If, on the other hand, the speaker is entrhralling his audience, it will be the duty of the Chairman, in the interests of that audience, to allow him to speak for one, two, or three consecutive five minutes without disturbing him. The proposal was brought forward by, I think, Dr. Nell, who, no doubt, will presently speak in seconding the motion, and who will give you his opinion on the subject. It seems to me that, provided that the discretionary power to prolong the period of five minutes is vested in a Chairman with a reasonable amount of wisdom and discretion, it should make for the convenience of all concerned. There are very few Papers in which it is not possible to raise the few points you want answered by the lecturer in a speech of five minutes.

4. Dr. NELL said that it gave him very great pleasure to second the proposal. He thought they would find that most of the Papers prepared were by men who had studied the subject pretty closely, and no subsequent speaker had anything more to do than supplement a fact, correct an inaccuracy, or dispute some minor argument in the Paper. All this could easily be done in five minutes. He did not propose on that occasion to take more than a minute in seconding the proposal.

The new rule was then unanimously adopted.

5. The Honorary Secretary read the Resolution passed at a Meeting of the Council of the Society on July 14, regarding the death of Mr. C. M. Fernando :—

"That the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society wishes to express its sympathy and condolence with the family of the late Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M., and to express its sense of the loss which it has sustained by his death, and records the following :—

"By the death of Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M., Senior Crown Counsel, Ceylon, this Society has lost one of its most valued members. He joined the Society in 1889, and was a member of the Council from 1896, and at his death was the senior Member. He was a regular attendant at Meetings ; and to the part which he took in its discussions and to his contributions, the Proceedings of Meetings and the Journals of this Society owe much of their interest and value.

"To the Journals of this Society Mr. Fernando contributed the following Papers :—

"(1) The Music of Ceylon—No. 45, 1894.

"(2) The Inauguration of the King in Ancient Ceylon—No. 47, 1896.

"(3) A Note on the Palæography of Ceylon—No. 55, 1904.

"(4) Two Old Sinhalese Swords—No. 56, 1905."

The CHAIRMAN said that he felt sure they would approve the action of the Council in having recorded the vote of condolence for one of the Society's most distinguished and most regretted speakers.

The Resolution was confirmed in silence, all rising.

6. The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Arunáchalam is well known to you all, and is a far older Member of this Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society than myself, and I cannot feel that he requires any introduction at my hands. His love of study is well known to all of us, and he has always been ready to place the fruit of that study at the disposal of this Society. Some of us have already seen the Paper he is about to read, and I think that all of you will agree when you have heard it that it is of an extremely interesting description.

7. The author read the following Paper, interspersing it with philosophical discourses he had translated, and adding numerous and learned explanatory comments:—

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## JNÁNA VÁSISHTAM; OR THE DIALOGUES OF VASISHTA ON WISDOM.

By the Hon. Mr. P. ARUNÁCHALAM, M.A., CAMB., C.C.S.,

*Vice-President, R. A. S. (C. B.).*

### I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE *Jnána Vásishṭam* is a Tamil poem of authority in that collection of the spiritual traditions of Ancient India known as the *Vedānta*, and consists of a series of discourses said to have been delivered by the sage Vasishṭa to Ráma, the hero of the *Rámáyana*, the Iliad of India. Seized in early youth with an aversion to worldly life, he longed to abandon his royal state and to retire as a hermit into the forest. By these discourses the sage persuaded him that, even amidst the pomp and temptations of royalty, it was possible to attain to the highest spiritual state. He showed the way to the goal, which the prince in due time reached. From the name of the sage (Vasishṭa) and from the fact that *Jnánam*,<sup>1</sup> or the spiritual science known of old as Wisdom, is the subject of the discourses, the work has been called *Jnána Vásishṭam*.

The original discourses were in Sanskrit, and are said to have been reported by Válmíki, the author of the *Rámáyana*, for the benefit of his pupil Bháradvāja in 100,000 stanzas, of which 36,000 are extant under the name of the *Yoga Vásishṭa Mahá Rámáyana*. They were reduced to 6,000 by Abhinandana, generally known as the Kashmir Pandit, whose abridgment passes under the name of *Laghu* (i.e., little) *Yoga Vásishṭa*.

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<sup>1</sup> Another form of γνῶσις and *know-ledge*, the root being *jna*, *gno*, to know.



The Tamil work consists of 43 chapters of 2,055 quatrains, and was composed by Álavantar Mádavappaṭṭar of Virai, a village near Vembattúr in the Madura district of the Madras Presidency. I have not been able to ascertain his date. He probably lived about three hundred years ago. He is said to have belonged to a family distinguished in literature during many centuries and still holding lands and titles conferred on them by the Pándiyan kings in reward of their merit. A valuable commentary was made on the poem<sup>1</sup> about eighty years ago by Arunáchala Svámi of Piraisai near Negapatam, who lived in Madras many years and had a great reputation as a teacher of philosophy. The Tamil author and commentator are regarded as no mere translators or commentators, but rather as men of spiritual insight confirming by their testimony the truth of the experiences related by Vasishṭa.

*Vedánta* means the end of the Vedas, the most sacred books of the Hindus, and was so called because it taught the ultimate aim and scope of the Vedas. It was in short the Goal of the Law. The Vedánta, as Oriental scholars have pointed out, is the basis of the popular creed of the Hindus of the present day. Of the Vedánta Professor Max Müller, lecturing in March, 1894, at the Royal Institution, London, said: "A philosopher so thoroughly acquainted with all the historical systems of philosophy as Schopenhauer, and certainly not a man given to deal in extravagant praise of any philosophy but his own, delivered his opinion of the Vedánta philosophy as contained in the Upanishads in the following words:—' In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.' If (adds Professor Max Müller) these words of Schopenhauer's required any endorsement, I should willingly give it as the result of my own experience during a long life devoted to the study of many religions. If philosophy is meant to be a preparation for a happy death or euthanasia, I know of no better preparation for it than the Vedánta philosophy."

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<sup>1</sup> The first edition of the Tamil poem and commentary appears to have been printed in 1843, having previously existed in MS. palm leaf, and is very rare. The two next editions were of 1850 and 1851.

This philosophy was at an early period systematized in certain *sūtras* or aphorisms<sup>1</sup> attributed to Bādarāyana *alias* Vyāsa, which have been copiously interpreted and expounded. The best known exposition<sup>2</sup> is that of Śrī Sankarāchārya Svāmi, the Hindu philosopher, who lived about the sixth century of the Christian era. His writings and apostolic zeal were mainly responsible for the downfall of Buddhism in India. He founded the abbey of Sringeri (in Mysore), the abbot of which is still the spiritual head of many millions of Hindus. Sankarāchārya's views are often erroneously identified, especially by European scholars, with the Vedānta, as if there were no other authoritative view. An earlier commentator was Śrī Nīlakanṭha Svāmi, who is of great repute and authority among the Saivas, or those who worship God under the name of Siva. Nīlakanṭha's work<sup>3</sup> is so little known outside the circle of Saiva theologians that the learned Dr. Thibaut, who has translated the *Vyāsa Sūtras* and Sankarāchārya's commentary for the Sacred Books of the East series of the Oxford Clarendon Press, was not aware that in some of the points in which Sankarāchārya appeared to him to misunderstand the original, Nīlakanṭha took a different and truer view. Another commentary<sup>4</sup> is that of Śrī Rāmānuja Svāmi, which enjoys great authority among the Vaishnavas, or those who worship God under the name of Vishṇu. The three expositions<sup>5</sup> may briefly, if roughly, be thus distinguished in regard to their conception of the relations between God, soul, and matter. Sankarāchārya is a Monist, Nīlakanṭha a pure Non-dualist (Śuddhādvaita), Rāmānuja a qualified Non-dualist (Viśiṣṭādvaita). All take their stand on the Upanishads, while putting

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<sup>1</sup> Known variously as the *Vedānta Sūtras*, *Vyāsa Sūtras*, *Brahma Sūtras*, *Uttaramimāmsa Sūtras* or *Śārīraraka Mimāmsa Sūtras*.

<sup>2</sup> Called after him *Sankara Bhāṣyam*.

<sup>3</sup> Called after him *Nīlakanṭha* or *Śrikanṭha bhāṣyam*. and also *Saiva bhāṣyam* or *Suddhādvaita bhāṣyam*.

<sup>4</sup> Called after him *Rāmānuja bhāṣyam*.

<sup>5</sup> There are two other commentaries in current use, one by Mādhavāchārya and another by Vallabhāchārya. Two others, little known and said to be older even than Nīlakanṭha's, are attributed to Bodhāyana and Bhāskara.

forward each his view to be the true one. The expositions are not easy to follow, and require the same effort of attention and study as Western students have to devote to the intricate arguments of Aristotle or Kant.

Sankarácárya is sometimes described as “a Monist or Non-dualist.” But the terms are not regarded as synonymous by the pure Non-dualists, especially by that school of pure Non-dualism, which is the glory of Tamil philosophy and is known as the Saiva Siddhánta. Its chief authority, the *Sivajnána pótham*, draws this important distinction (ii., 2 and 3):—

“One,” say the Vedas. Behold, it is said of the One. The One is the Lord. Thou who sayest “One,” art the soul. Lo, in bondage art thou. If the One were not,——. If vowel A were not, letters there would be none. In this wise say the Vedas “One.”

Like song and its tune, like fruit and its flavour, the Lord's energy everywhere pervadeth, non-dual. Therefore say the great Vedas not “One,” but “Not-two.”

The meaning is this: When the Vedas say “Ekam Sat,” “All that is, is one,” they do not mean the identity of God and the soul, but that God pervades and energizes the soul. The first sound uttered as the mouth opens is the sound of U in *but*, which sound is represented in Indian alphabets by their initial letter, the vowel A (Sansk. अ, Tamil அ). This sound exists in, and is indispensable to the formation of, the sound represented by every other letter. Thus, the Indian letter A, while it may be said to pervade and energize every other letter, remains also a distinct and the chief letter. So God and the soul. All souls are pervaded and energized by God, as all letters by A, as a song by its tune, as a fruit by its flavour. Nevertheless, like A, God stands apart, Himself, of all things the source and the chief. “One,” therefore, in the Vedas must be understood to mean not unity, but non-duality, of God and soul. The same argument is pithily expressed by the poet Tiruvalluvar in his celebrated *Kural*:

“All letters have for source the letter A,  
The world for source hath the Ancient One,  
The Adorable.”

This traditional illustration of the pure Non-dualists, prominently set forth in the very opening verse of the poem, shows that the author—who, in spite of his outcast birth, is “the venerated sage and law-giver of the Tamil people,” whom every Hindu sect is proud to claim—was a Vedántist of the pure Non-dualist type.

The study of the Vedánta is held in high esteem in India as the most effective cure for the disease *ajnánam*, or ignorance, which keeps the soul from God. The doctrines of the Vedánta are expounded in the *Jnána Vásishtam* mainly on the lines of Sankaráchárya, with endless variety of illustration, in the form of stories which convey to the thoughtful reader, with all the interest of a romance, an easy understanding of the most difficult problems of philosophy—Who am I? Whence? Whither? It is no uncommon thing in the towns and villages of Tamil-land for groups of earnest seekers to meet in the quiet hours of the day or night to listen to the reading and exposition of the poem and ponder on the great questions. At such séances women are not the least interested of the listeners nor the least keen of the questioners.

The *Jnána Vásishtam* not only explains the doctrines of the Vedánta as to the nature of God, the soul and the universe, but teaches the practical methods by which the soul may effect its union with God. The mode of effecting this union or ‘yoking’ is called *Yoga*, a word having the same root as the English *yoke*. It is treated here under two heads: *Karma Yoga* or the Way of Work, and *Jnána Yoga* or the Way of Knowledge. It is the latter form of *yoga* of which the book mainly treats. *Karma Yoga* in its higher forms—work for work’s sake, duty for duty’s sake, without reference to any ulterior motive or reward—is given a prominent place and shown to have the same goal as *Jnána Yoga*. Four chapters—the stories of Uttálakan, Vitakavyan, Pusundan, and Sikitvasan—discuss *Karma Yoga* in its lower forms (bodily penances and mortifications), which are said to be rewarded with wonderful powers over nature called the *Siddhis*. But their pursuit is generally discouraged by the sages as likely to involve the soul in the bonds of desire and to perpetuate its ignorance and separation from God. Another and most

important form of *yoga* called *Bhakti Yoga*, the Way of Love, which is fostered by the ordinary worship of the temples and churches, is but lightly touched in this work.

It is difficult to give an adequate idea of the *Jñāna Vāsishṭam* in a summary or even in a translation. I have, however, attempted to summarize a few discourses and to translate a few others, adding to each some explanatory comments. One of the most memorable of the discourses, entitled “The Worship of God,” is included in the translations.

In reading them it should be borne in mind that interpretation from one language to another is seldom successful and never easy. The difficulty is in this case greatly increased by the nature of the subject, a metaphysical one so profound as confessedly to be beyond the reach of word or even thought. The Hindu system of metaphysics, moreover, is in many respects different from modern European systems, and suitable English equivalents are not easily found for its technical terms. For example, the word *manas*, though philologically the same as the Latin *mens* and the English *mind*, cannot be translated as mind without serious confusion of ideas. Mind, in modern European metaphysics, is understood to mean the sum total of the intellectual, volitional, and emotional faculties of man and to be antithetical to matter. But *manas* is regarded by Hindu philosophers as a subtle form of matter, an organ by which the soul receives from the gates of the senses impressions of external objects, and is enabled to know them and thereby to experience pains and pleasures, which it utilizes for its development and progress to God. The antithesis of matter according to Hindu philosophers would thus be not mind, but the soul or spirit (*ātman*), which is conscious of thought and for its salvation has to free itself from the fetters of thought.

The great gulf between the two systems is the doctrine that *consciousness may exist without thought*, which to European philosophers, at least of modern times, appears to be an absurdity and an impossibility. However, Hindu sages declare, and declare not as a speculation but as actual experience, that when thought is completely suppressed and also its

twin-brother sleep, the pure consciousness or spirit long hidden begins to manifest itself.<sup>1</sup> Free from the stain of thought and oblivion and truly pure in heart, the soul is blessed with the vision of God, wins the peace of God that passeth all understanding, realizes somewhat of the infinite power, glory, and bliss of the Divine Spirit, and finally is united to it.

A kindred experience is thus described by Tennyson :—

“ For more than once when I  
Sat all alone, revolving in myself  
The word that is the symbol of myself,  
The mortal limit of the Self was loosed  
And past into the nameless, as a cloud  
Melts into Heaven. I touched my limbs, the limbs  
Were strange, not mine—and yet no shade of doubt  
But utter clearness, and thro’ loss of Self  
The gain of such large life as match’d with ours  
Were Sun to spark—unshadowable in words,  
Themselves but shadows of a shadow-world.”

*The Ancient Sage.*

Notwithstanding the difficulties of interpreting such a work as the Jnána Váśiṣṭam, the attempt has been made in the hope that, even in the garb in which it is here presented, a poem which has been of inestimable help to the best spirits among countless generations of Hindus will be of interest to Western students, and perhaps be of service to some among that large and increasing number of cultured men and women, in the West as in the East, who are sick of church or temple, sick of ritual and prayer, and are left stranded on the shore of atheism or agnosticism without hope or comfort. Here they will find, and perhaps have comfort in finding, what the sages of ancient India conceived, and their successors still conceive, to be the true worship of God, and as a preparation for which has been established the Hindu religious system with its diversity of methods, providing spiritual food for all according to their needs, and significantly called the *Sopána Marga* or “the ladder-way.”

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<sup>1</sup> See the writer’s article on “Luminous Sleep” in the *Westminster Review* of November, 1902, republished in 1903 by the Government Printer, Ceylon.

## II.—RENUNCIATION.

The Vedánta is not taught indiscriminately to all, for, as Vasishṭa says, "The study of the great books is fraught with danger to persons of little understanding. It will breed degrading folly in them, no other books will breed so much,"—an observation verified in the case of students who take to idle, useless, and even vicious lives, pleading the principles of the Vedánta. Hence, before admitting a pupil to these studies, the teacher is enjoined to test his moral and spiritual fitness. The pupil should be imbued with a sense of the impermanence of life and the worthlessness of all worldly things, all desire must have died in him for the so-called goods of this world or the next. He should be truly poor in spirit and hanker and thirst after wisdom, in the pursuit of which he must be ready to give up all else. Ráma was the type of the qualified student, and the chapter called *Vairágya prakaranam*, or the Chapter of Renunciation, describes his spiritual condition just before his initiation.

He was the heir to a great kingdom and had just returned from a pilgrimage, which in those days, as now, apart from its spiritual uses, is the popular form of travel in India and covers the face of the land with happy troops of pilgrims of all grades, ages, and sexes, for whose counterpart in England one must go back to the time of Chaucer. Ráma was transformed on his return. His royal duties, the pleasures of the court and the chase, became irksome to him; he went through them mechanically for a time, and finally gave them up altogether. His religious duties, to which he had been devoted, had no interest for him. He neglected food and sleep, sought solitude and contemplation, and pined away until his attendants were filled with anxiety and reported his condition to his father who doted on him. The king sent for him and questioned him with much concern, but could get no clue to his troubles. Shortly afterwards the sage Visvámitra came on a visit to the king in order to obtain the help of Ráma against some wild men who were molesting him in his forest retreat. With great reluctance the king consented to part with his son for the purpose. Ráma being sent for comes to the king's presence

and, instead of taking his usual place in the assembly, seats himself on the floor to the consternation of the king and his courtiers. Vasishṭa, the *guru* or spiritual preceptor of the royal family, who was present, and the visitor Visvāmītra speak to Rāma and beg him to explain the cause of his melancholy. Unable to disobey them, he breaks silence and answers :

“ Born of this king, reared by him, trained in the knowledge of various arts and sciences, I duly performed my religious and royal duties. I have now returned from a pilgrimage to sacred shrines, and straightway all desire for the things of the world hath ceased in me. There is no pleasure in them. We die but to be born, and are born but to die. All, all, are fleeting. What good is there in the fictitious things which constitute wealth ? What good in worldly enjoyment, in royalty ? Who are we ? Whence this body ? All false, false, false.<sup>1</sup> One who reflects and asks himself ‘ Who hath obtained what ? ’, will have no desire for them, even as a wayfarer desires not to drink water which he knows to be a mirage. I burn, I choke, seeking a way out of this delusion and sorrow.”

Rāma then proceeds to analyse worldly things and makes them out, one and all, to be worthless. Wealth, he says, like kings, favours its courtiers without regard to merit, dissipates energy by manifold acts, harbours the snakes “ like ” and “ dislike,” shuns the teaching of the wise and good. Whom doth wealth not corrupt ? It is like the flower of a plant in a snake-encircled pit. Life is like a water-drop at the tip of a pendent leaf, a mad man rushing out at unexpected, unseasonable times, a flash of lightning in the cloud desire, a stumbling-block to the unwise. Life is harder to guard than to cleave space, to grasp the air or to string the waves of the sea. Unstable as a rain cloud, as the light of an oil-less lamp, as a wave, life causeth pain to those who desire it, as the pearl is the death of its oyster-mother. The life, except of the wise man, the *Jnāni*, is the life of an old donkey. No enemy so great as egoism. All acts, religious and other, mixed with it are false. As the ego-cloud grows, so doth the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bossuet : On trouve au fond de tout le vide et le néant.



jasmin-creeper desire. The ego is the seed of desire, the breeding ground of fatal delusion and ignorance.

Thought wanders in vain like a feather tossed in a storm or like an ownerless dog; it is like water flowing from a broken pot. Mind, a dog running after the bitch desire, tears me, says Ráma, to pieces, drives me about as if I were possessed with a devil, entangles me in vain acts as though I tried with a rotten rope to pull a beam from the bottom of a well. The mind-devil is fiercer than fire, more impassable than mountains, harder to control than to pull the Himalayas by their roots, to dry up the ocean, or swallow the submarine fire. If thought dies, the universe dies. If thought springs, the universe springs. Gladness and sorrow thrive in the mind as forests on mountains, and with the mind disappear.

These strictures on the mind may seem extravagant. But what is here condemned is not the use but the abuse of mind, the tyranny of thought of which we are the victims. What reflecting person but is conscious of the difficulty of the habit of undivided concentration on the thing in hand, conscious of the wandering of the mind. of its division and distraction, its openness to attack by brigand cares and anxieties? Man prides himself on mastery of sea and land and air, but how rare the mastery of the mind? The weary and care-worn faces of thousands, especially among the wealthy and educated classes, with their projects and plans and purposes, bear eloquent witness to the fever of thought by which man is dominated and over-ridden, a miserable prey to the bat-winged phantoms that flit through the corridors of his brain. Until one is able to expel a thought from his mind as easily as he would shake a pebble out of his boot, it is absurd to talk of man as the heir of all the ages and master of nature. A slave rather. But if while at work you can concentrate your thought absolutely on it, pounding away like a great engine, with great power and perfect economy, no wear and tear of friction, and then when the work is finished and there is no more occasion for the use of the machine, you can stop it equally absolutely, no worrying, as if a parcel of boys were allowed to play their devilments with a locomotive as soon as it was in the shed,—if you have gained this

mastery over thought, only then would you be deemed by the sages of India on the way to freedom. But the effacement of thought does not mean its giving place to sleep. This too must be conquered, a no less difficult conquest, and then according to them the veil lifts and you pass into that region of your consciousness where your true self dwells and where, in the words of Tennyson, is the gain of such large life as matched with ours were Sun to spark.

To return to our hero, he continues :—In the dark night, desire, the owls, lust, anger, and the rest haunt the sky of the soul. Good qualities are destroyed by desire, as the strings of a violin by mice. Caught in desire like a bird in a net, I faint, I burn. Desire makes cowards of heroes, blinds the clear-sighted, makes the wise tremble, is like a courtesan who runs in vain after men though her charms have long departed, or like a dancer attempting dances beyond her power, seeks things hard to get, is not satisfied even when they are got, is ever on the move like a monkey or a bee, traverseth earth and heaven in a second, is the root of all sorrow. Desire masters and ruins the greatest of men in a moment : its only cure is the riddance of thought.

Nothing is so mean and worthless as this body, the dwelling place of the ego, with his wife desire, and handmaidens the organs of sense and action. Fleeting riches and royalty and body, are they worthy to be sought ? In a little while they disappear. Rich and poor alike are subject to age, disease, death. What profiteth this body ? Infancy is more restless than waves or lightning or woman's eyes ; it eats dirt, is easily moved to joy and sorrow, it calls to the moon, is the home of folly, ever breeds fear to parents and guardians. Passing from infancy to youth greater dangers wait. Youth is attacked by the demon lust in the cave of the heart. None so learned or wise but in youth is deluded and blinded. Youth is a mirage which torments the deer, mind, sinking in the slough of external objects. Only those rare ones, who cross the dangers of youth and in youth attain wisdom, are worthy to be called *men*.

What is the attraction of woman's beauty ? Analyse the component parts of her lovely body—flesh, bone, blood, mucus,

and the rest—and then, if you think it beautiful, hanker after it. Women's breasts, once decked with strings of rarest pearl, become the food of dogs in the burial ground. Her soft fragrant locks, her eyes that deal destruction, who can escape their power? Pleasant at first, painful in the end, she is Cupid's net to catch men, she is the bait by which the death-god catches them into hell. I seek not the pleasures of woman, that chest of love, jealousy, anger, locked with the lock of dire sorrow. Deliverance from sexual desire is the beginning of heavenly bliss.

Old age, which follows on youth, is a time of greater sorrow still. Wisdom runs away from old age as love of first wife runs away from the heart of him who has married a second. Weakness of body, disease, excessive desire, inability to satisfy it, are the lot of the old. Their tottering gait, their failings, are the laughing-stock of children and women, of servants, kinsmen, and friends. Desire comes home to roost in old age, fear of the next world torments it. Gray heads are ripe fruit to feed the messengers of death. The king of death comes in state attended by an army of diseases and fanned with *chouris*<sup>1</sup> of gray hair. He lives in a palace washed with gray, and his wives are weakness, disease, danger. What availeth life so beset with pain and sorrow at every step, its string hourly gnawed by time?

What thing in the universe can escape Time, which swallows all like the fire that dries up oceans? The greatest and the least he destroys—he will not grant a moment's grace. Oceans and mighty mountains yield to his power as a leaf or a grain of dust. Worlds resonant with the buzzing of countless gnats, are apples dropped by the tree of Time. With his eye, the sun, Time watches throughout the ancient garden of the universe and eats the fruit as they are ripe, to wit, the warders<sup>2</sup> of the world. He wears a necklace of world-clusters strung

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<sup>1</sup> Tail of the *Yak* (a wild ox of the mountains of Tibet) used by Eastern princes as fans and fly-flappers.

<sup>2</sup> Regents or presiding deities appointed for the four cardinal and the four intermediate points of the compass by Brahma at each creation of the world.

on the three strands of the *gunas*.<sup>1</sup> He hunts game in the forest of the universe. He gathers into his death-chest falling worlds; at intervals of ages, at the great *Kalpa*<sup>2</sup> time of destruction, he gambols in the oceans as in a pond. Time, too, yields to the power of the great Goddess of Destruction, who rangeth like a tigress through the universe, destroying all, the earth her drinking cup, the worlds flowers on her neck, her pets time and the terrible man-lion whose thunder-roar is death, the unreal her bow, pain her arrow, the celestial regions her tiara, the infernal worlds her anklets fastened with the cord of sin, the mountains Himavan and Mahameru her earrings with pendant sun and moon. She wears the heads of Brahmas, Vishnus, Rudras, and, terrible to herself, she danceth the peerless dance at the final dissolution of the universe.

The universe, according to Hindu philosophers, has been created and destroyed times without number, and will be again and again created and destroyed, not in the sense of being created out of nothing and reduced to nothing, but in the sense of being projected or evolved (*Sṛiṣṭi*) out of cosmic stuff (*mūla prakṛiti*) and of being involved or withdrawn into it (*Samhāra*). The manifestation of the creating or evolving energy of God is called Brahma, of the preserving energy Vishnu, and of the destroying or involving energy Siva or Rudra. These three manifestations constitute the Hindu Trinity, and each has a time-limit counted by thousands of millions of years. At the end of the cycle they all withdraw into the absolute Godhead, to come forth again.

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<sup>1</sup> The *gunas*, the three ingredients or constituents of nature, corresponding pretty closely to the three principles of the soul according to Plato (*Republic*, IV. 441 E. 442 A):—

- (1) *Satva* (λόγος or τὸ λογιστικόν).—Purity or goodness, producing illumination and mildness, wisdom, grace, truth, &c.
- (2) *Rajas* (θῦμος or τὸ θυμοειδές).—Passion or energy, producing activity, and variability, mental exertion, courage, learning, &c., and also worldly covetousness, pride, falsehood, sensual desire.

(3) *Tamas* (ἐπιθυμία).—Darkness or ignorance, producing sluggishness, arrogance, lust, and other depraved attachments.

<sup>2</sup> *Kalpa*, or the duration of the universe, is supposed to be 36,000 times 432 million years, at the end of which it is destroyed, and after a pause again created.

The whole universe, continues Ráma, is fleeting and unreal. It is born and dies, it dies and is born, without end. The deluded mind faints with desire. Youth wasted flies, the friendship of the wise unsought, freedom and truth far away. Attachment to the fleeting things of the world is the chain that binds to birth.<sup>1</sup> All living things perish. The names of countries change. Mighty mountains become dust. Oceans disappear. The quarters of the sky vanish. The starry worlds, the celestial hosts, the holy Rishis pass away. The lord of the polar star dies. Time, space, law cease. Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, merge in the One Reality, the pure substance ineffable. The whole universe is mean and naught by It.

Sunk in petty enjoyments, thinking them so wonderful, the world perisheth. If the day is not spent in treading in the footsteps of the wise, whence cometh sleep at night? Wives and children and gold are sought and loved as ambrosia. For them nothing is left undone. When the time of parting comes, they are more painful than deadly poison. Every foe overcome, surrounded by every prosperity, one liveth happily, sole emperor. Lo, from somewhere comes sudden death and cuts him off. Wife, children, and the rest are travellers meeting at a fair. The lives of Brahmas<sup>2</sup> are but a second. The difference between long life and short life is a delusion. Mighty power and prosperity, learning, deeds all pass away and become mere fancies—so do we. Pain and pleasure, greatness and smallness, birth and death, all are for a moment. A hero is killed by a weakling, one man kills a hundred, the mighty become low and the low mighty. All goes round and round. “I care for none of these things. I care for neither life nor death. Grant me, O sages, calm and peace of mind. My heart yearns for union with its Lord, and is distressed as a woman parted from her beloved. What is that state without pain, fault, doubt, or delusion?

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<sup>1</sup> Reincarnation, to which the soul is subject until it becomes pure and ripe for union with God.

<sup>2</sup> A day of Brahma = 432 million years of man. 360 such days constitute a year of Brahma, and 100 such years his life time, or a *kalpa*, which is equal to 36,000 times 432 million years, the duration of the world.

What is the state incorruptible ? Ye sages know it. Declare it unto me. I want neither food nor drink nor sleep. I will not perform religious rites nor royal duties. Come weal, come woe. I care not. I stand still, doing nothing. I welcome death.”

Such an appeal it was impossible to resist, and the discourses which constitute the *Jnána Vásishṭam* were the answer.

### III.—STORY OF SUKAR.<sup>1</sup>

The first discourse is attributed to Visvámitra, who relates to Ráma the story of Sukar and comments upon it. Though short, it is interesting in more respects than one. It shows that in those times, as now, though not generally known, the Brahmins were not the sole custodians of spiritual knowledge, but were even glad to seek it from men of other castes, as in this instance from one of the royal caste. Indeed it would appear from the *Chándogya Upanishad*, V., 3, 7, that in ancient Vedic times a Brahmin was not deemed fit to receive instruction in the mysteries of spiritual knowledge. A Brahmin is there represented as seeking instruction from a king who tells him that no Brahmin was ever taught such knowledge, this being reserved for the Kshattriya or the royal caste. The king was, however, induced to make an exception in this instance. The fact that verses so prejudicial to the interest and dignity of the Brahmin caste occur in writings, which now for three thousand years have been in their sole charge, is remarkable, and is strong testimony to the authenticity of this particular Upanishad.

The term Brahmin had once a purely spiritual meaning. viz., one who had seen God (*Brahm*, or the Supreme). Any one of whatever caste who had attained the vision or knowledge of God, was called a Brahmin. The descendants of such men gradually crystallized into a caste, which after a time lost all spiritual culture and even came to be regarded as unfit to receive spiritual instruction. The Brahmins, as a caste, then became what they are now, ritual priests, whose duty is to conduct public worship in the temples and to perform the countless domestic ceremonies of the Hindus. The aim of this ritual is to develop spiritual life in the laity and prepare the

<sup>1</sup> This is the Tamil form, in the honorific plural, of the Sanskrit *Suka*.

soil for the seed of the spiritual priest. The relationship of the latter to his disciple is a purely personal one, and no caste, race, or sex qualification is necessary either for teacher or pupil, for the Spirit has no caste, race, or sex. A person of a low caste, or even an outcast, may be a spiritual teacher. This rule has lightened the burden of the Sudra's lot, for it throws open to genius the highest of positions. The best known of modern Hindu sages, Rámakrishna Svámi of Bengal, who died in 1886, and whose life was written by Professor Max Müller, had for his teacher a woman, who was for him what Diotima was to Socrates, and inspired in him the same devotion, love, and gratitude.

It is related of Sankaráchárya—the great Hindu philosopher and apostle, to whom I have already referred,—that on one occasion, while travelling with the pomp suitable to his dignity, he suddenly met on the road a Paria bearing a load of beef fresh slaughtered and dripping with blood. Shrinking from the sight with a holy Brahmin's horror, he called out imperiously to the outcast to move out of sight. "Whom dost thou order," answered the Paria with amazing boldness, "to move out of sight—the spirit or the flesh?" Sankaráchárya, remembering that the flesh of his own body did not differ from that of the Paria or the beef, and realizing that the all-pervading Spirit of God was equally in Paria and Brahmin, recognized in this outcast his long-awaited-for spiritual teacher, and descending from his palanquin prostrated himself at the Paria's feet. The Paria, who was (it is said) no other than the Lord Siva, vanished. Sankaráchárya's conversion dates from this incident, and to him Hinduism owes more than to any other man.

The story of Sukar also shows that to gain the knowledge of God and participate in the divine bliss, it is not necessary to abandon the world and retire into the solitude of a forest, nor is death of the body a condition precedent. King Janaka attained this high estate while still in the flesh and in the active exercise of royal power.

Here, too, is briefly enunciated the fundamental doctrine of the Vedánta, that the One and only Reality is the Spirit or pure consciousness, and that the universe is a differentiation

and evolute of that one Reality resulting from the cosmic illusion called *Māya*. Students of modern science will recall Professor Huxley's definition of matter as "a name for the unknown and hypothetical cause of certain states of our own consciousness" (Lay Sermons, p. 142). A learned Christian Professor, Dr. Sanday, not long ago wrote in this connection :—

All sure knowledge is knowledge of states of consciousness and nothing more. The moment we step outside those states of consciousness and begin to assign a cause to them, we pass into the region of hypothesis or assumption. The first effort of thought is to distinguish between "self" and "not-self," but neither of the "self" nor of the "not-self" have we any true knowledge, we do not even know that they exist, much less how they exist or what they are. We might as well call the one X and the other Y as give them the names we do. And if this holds good for a process of thought which seems so elementary, much more must it hold good for others which are more remote. When we call things about us and give them names, as Adam is described as doing, what we really name is only the states of our own consciousness, not the things themselves. Judged by the standard of strict logic, the world which we inhabit is a world of visions, of phantasms, of hypothetical existences, and hypothetical relations. All thought and all the objects of thought are at the bottom pure hypothesis. Its validity is only relative. The propositions which we call true are not true in themselves. When we call them true, all that we mean is that to assume them gives unity and harmony to the operations of the thinking mind. The belief that we can trust our memory, that one state of consciousness is like another preceding state of consciousness, that the ego is a centre of permanence, that nature is uniform, and that what has happened to-day will also happen to-morrow, all these beliefs stand upon the same footing. They are working hypotheses, assumptions which enable us to think coherently : we cannot say more.<sup>1</sup>

The great divine and philosopher, Bishop Berkeley, has said in terms which a Vedāntist would have used :—"The physical universe which I see and feel and infer, is just my dream, and nothing else. That which you see is your dream, only it so happens that our dreams agree in many respects." The Vedānta goes further and declares that underlying this fiction of the universe there is a very real reality, not, as the

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Sanday on "Professor Huxley as a theologian."



Bishop supposed, the mind, which is itself a fiction, but the Spirit which the Vedánta declares to be the One and Only Reality. This One Reality is called by many names, Brahm (the supreme), Jnánam (wisdom), Átman (the Self), Sivam (auspicious), &c. It is also called *Sat-chit-ánanda* as being *sat*,—pure and eternal being or truth (τὸ ὄν of Plato),—pure knowledge (*chit*), pure bliss (*ánanda*): pure in the sense of there being no distinction between subject and object. Being spirit as well as infinite, it is frequently called *chit-ákása* or *jnánákása*, Spirit-space.

It was of this *chit* or pure knowledge Plato spoke in the *Phædrus* (247 D):—Καθορᾷ δὲ ἐπιστήμην οὐχ ἢ γένεσις πρόσεστιν, οὐδ' ἢ ἐστί πουτέρα ἐν ἐτέρῳ οὔσα ὣν ἡμεῖς νῦν ὄντων καλοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ὄντι ἐστίν ὃν ὄντως ἐπιστήμην οὔσαν. “Knowledge absolute, not in the form of created things or of things relative which men call existence, but knowledge absolute in existence absolute.” It was of this *sat*, the One Reality or Truth, Jesus spoke to Pilate (John XVIII. 37). “To this end was I born, and for this cause came I unto the world, that I should bear witness unto the Truth. Every one that is of the Truth, heareth my voice.” To Pilate’s next question “What is Truth?” no answer was vouchsafed, probably because the question was a mocking one and because the infinite spirit is not to be described in words. “It can only be described,” says the *Brihadáranyaka Upanishad* (IV. 515), “by no, no,” i.e., by protesting against every attribute. The usual Vedántist illustration is that of a Hindu wife who, asked to point out her husband from among a number of men, said “no, no,” to every person pointed out, until her husband was pointed out, and then she stood bashful and silent. In a dialogue reported by Sankaráchárya Svámi from an Upanishad, “Vashkali said, ‘Sir, tell me Brahm. Then Bahva became quite still. When Vashkali had asked a second and a third time, Bahva replied “We are telling it, but thou dost not understand. That Brahm is quite still.”

In the absolute unconditioned infinity, the Spirit, there arises an energy whereby the Spirit seemingly becomes conditioned or limited and differentiates itself—as under a breeze the calm face of the ocean breaks into waves—into the

universe, countless souls, infinite varieties of matter, endless growth of sun and satellite and planet, all passing from a state of latency to manifestation and *vice versâ*. The task of the soul is to emancipate itself from the grasp of this cosmic illusion of *Māya*, under the influence of which the soul cherishes the idea of “I” and “mine” (as if each wave were to think itself a separate entity from other waves and from the ocean) and identifies its fictitious coats of mind and matter with itself. In other words, the soul has to go back from the unreal to the only real. What *Māya* is, how it originated, how and when it ceases, are explained in the story of Sukar.

Having heard Rāma’s impassioned address which I have summarized in the last chapter—

Visvāmītra says : O Rāma, by pure intellect thou has seen all things free from fault. There remains naught else for thee to know clearly. The sage Suka and thou are peers. Even they who have attained the knowledge of the real and unreal, yearn for peace.

Rama inquires : How happened it that Sukar, having attained the knowledge which destroys “I,” attained not peace at once but afterwards ?

Visvāmītra replies as follows : Sukar, filled with the knowledge that cuts off birth, pondering like thee on the nature of the universe, grew in understanding and gained the knowledge that is without flaw. Yet doubt remained regarding it, and peace he had not. He sought his sire (Vyāsa) who lives on the northern mountain (Meru) and asked : “Whence cometh this dangerous *māya* ? How shall it perish ? To whom does it belong ? What is its measure ? When did it appear ?” The father made answer to these questions so that Sukar should understand. But Sukar replied : “What thou hast said was already known to me.” Then his father, seeing that Sukar reached not the excellent state of peace, said : There is a king named Janaka, great in the knowledge that is without flaw. Seek and ask him.” So saying, he graciously sent him, and Sukar departed. He reached the gate of the golden palace where Janaka dwelt. The king, hearing of his coming, came not to meet him, thinking to try him. Seven days tarried Sukar there, indifferent.

Seven more days the king set him in another place, then he lodged him in the beautiful inner chambers of gold wherein the women dwell. Slender-waisted maidens served him with dainty food and pleasures. He bore with them, being like unto the cold full moon. Neither the pleasures provided by the king nor his previous insult touched the mind of Sukar. Can the gentle south wind shake Meru, greatest of mountains? Seeing his state, the king worshipped and praised him and said: "O thou who art rid of the acts of the world and hast obtained all that is to be obtained, seeking what hast thou come hither?" He replied "Whence sprang *māya*? How grew it? How will it cease? Tell me truly." To the sage thus seeking the truth, the king spake as his father had spoken. The sage replied: "This have I already known by my understanding. Thou hast spoken even as my father spake. The perfect Scriptures all declare but one thing. If the differentiation that springs within ceases, *māya* ceases. There is nothing in *māya*. Such is its nature. Declare unto me the One Reality, O king who curest the infatuation of all."

The king made answer. "O sage, what thou hast thyself ascertained, what thy father has declared to thee, again in doubt thou askest. That alone is true. Here is infinite Spirit, nothing else. That Spirit is fettered by thought, it is free when rid of thought. 'Tis because thou knowest well that Spirit, thou art rid of desire and of all visible things. Thou hast attained all that is to be attained by a perfect mind. Thou inseparably blendest with the One that is beyond sight. Thou art free. Give up the doubt that troubleth thy mind."

Thus when Janaka, king of kings, taught, the faultless Sukar quenching his restlessness in the Supreme whose place is Itself, freed from fear, from sorrow, from agitation, from act, from doubt, went up on the golden mount Meru and, standing in the calm of undifferentiating abstraction (*samādhi*) for twice 500 years by the sun's count, like unto the light of a lamp quenched with the burning out of oil and wick, became blended with Spirit-space. Rid of the stain of thought and become pure, the rising thought ceasing as water drops merge and become one with the sea, he became one with the Absolute. He was freed from delusion and desire and so from sorrow.

That way will be thine, O Rāma. The manner of the mind which knoweth all that should be known, is never to think that pleasures and pain are “mine.”

As the attachment to things which are not realities becometh established, the fetters are firmly rivetted; as that attachment dwindles, the baleful fetters waste away. To crush the influence of outward objects, O Rāma, is to be free; to sink in it is to be a slave. They who have overcome its might and, rid of desire, turn away from the enjoyments of the world, they alone have attained the high state of *Jīvan Mukti*, of freedom while still in the flesh.

The purport of this story appears to be that a man may by investigation and reflection understand what is real and what is unreal, and may reject the unreal and be rid of all desire, and yet not attain perfect peace, which is won only when by the intense abstraction of *samādhi* he has realized in actual experience the One Reality. So also Tiruvalluvar says:

“Though the five senses are under control, still there is no gain to them who know not the One Reality” (*kural* xxxiv. 4).

“Wisdom is freedom from the delusion which is the cause of birth, and the vision of the One Reality, the supremely beautiful” (*ibid.*, 8). The delusion here referred to is explained (*ibid.*, 1) as that which takes for real the unreal.

Then turning to the assembly, Visvāmitra says: What Rāma has grasped with the mind, that is the reality, and nothing else. Who save Vasishṭa can teach great Rāma this? Vasishṭa who, having learnt it from the lips of the wise, hath won peace of mind and freedom from doubt, who knoweth time past, present, and future, who is the world’s teacher, who looketh on, a witness to all things that have name and form.<sup>1</sup> (Addressing Vasishṭa:) Rememberest thou, O Vasishṭa, the words of wisdom which the Lotus-God Brahma spake to us to heal our enmity and to cure good men of their ancient *karma*, and help them to be free. Declare it, I pray thee, to the learned Rāma. The precious words spoken to the heart of the pupil that is free from desire, are indeed knowledge; they are the substance of the Scriptures, they alone are beautiful. The words spoken

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the manifested universe.

to a pupil in the bonds of desire. will become impure like precious milk poured into a black dog-skin vessel.

In compliance with the request, Vasishta proceeds to deliver to Ráma the discourses which form the bulk of this work. Vasishta, it may be added, is believed by the Hindús to be still alive, inspiring and enlightening seekers after truth. Tradition has assigned him a perfect wife, Arundati, who, translated to the skies, shines in the Pleiades. Among the interesting and picturesque ceremonies of a Hindú wedding is the leading of the bride into the court-yard, to point out the star to her as the ideal to be cherished. Vasishta himself is one of the seven stars of the Great Bear, called by the Hindús the Seven Sages.

8. The CHAIRMAN invited discussion, but as none wished to speak on the subject—

9. Sir J. T. HUTCHINSON, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Arunáchalam, said: It seems to me that there is nobody here who feels himself or herself competent to criticise this Paper of Mr. Arunáchalam's, or the poem about which the Paper is written. I do not propose to do so. I propose merely to ask you to give a vote of thanks to Mr. Arunáchalam, for I must admit that I am quite incompetent to criticise his Paper. Speculations about the nature of the universe, the soul, the mind, and the deity, such as are contained in this poem of 2,055 quatrains, I must confess have never been able to interest me personally very much. At the same time I must admit that it is my own fault, for I know very well that there are very great numbers of men much better and much wiser than myself who take a profound interest in this subject, and who find it a great help to them in the course of their lives to follow the speculations of sages, such as the author of this book, and Plato, and the others referred to in Mr. Arunáchalam's lecture. I know that my old friend Mr. Arunáchalam himself is very much in earnest on this subject, and that to him these speculations have a meaning; that he believes that, to all who are competent and who take the trouble to study the works of these sages, there is a knowledge to be obtained, which we, who have not the capacity or will not take the trouble to study them, are debarred from. I now propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Arunáchalam. He has evidently taken an immense amount of pains with his lecture, and he has tried to communicate to us some of the knowledge of this old poem which he himself has gained.

10. Dr. NELL seconded.

11. The proposition was unanimously carried, and the Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. Arunáchalam.

## SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

*The Colombo Museum, September 8, 1909.*

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáhalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. T. P. Attygalle, Superintendent of Police.	Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed.
Dr. H. F. Bawa, F.R.C.S.	Mr. D. Montagu, A.M.I.C.E.
The Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford, C.M.G.	Mr. C. Namasivayam, J.P.
Mr. E. S. Dasanaike, B.A., Barrister-at-Law.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.	Mr. D. C. Pedris, Proctor, S.C.
Mr. D. Devapuraratna, Proctor, S.C.	Mr. A. E. Roberts, Proctor.
Ven. F. H. de Winton.	Mr. W. A. Samarasingha.
Mr. C. A. Galpin.	Dr. V. R. Saravanamuttu.
Mr. A. H. Gomes.	Dr. Donald Schokman, F.R.C.S.
Mudaliyár I. Gunawardana.	Mr. J. M. Senaviratna.
Mr. E. W. Jayewardene, Barrister-at-Law.	Mr. D. R. A. P. Siriwardana, Barrister-at-Law.
Mr. T. G. Jayewardene, A.M.I.M.E.	Mr. G. W. Sturgess, M.R.C.V.S.
Mr. Alfred Lewis.	S. Sumangala Terunnánsé.
	Mr. F. A. Tiseverasingha, Advocate.
	Mr. F. E. Vaid.
	Mr. Don M. de Z. Wickremasinghe.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Thirteen ladies and thirty-eight gentlemen.

*Business.*

1. THE PRESIDENT in opening the Meeting, said :—Ladies and gentlemen, as the present is a Special Meeting I think we may dispense with the formality of reading and confirming the Minutes of the General Meeting held on August 18, 1909.

It has often fallen to my lot as President of your Society to have to introduce to you a gentleman whose acquaintance with you is dated by more years than my acquaintance with you unfortunately is dated by months—and often I found the position extremely embarrassing. On the present occasion I find I am in the

position of being able to introduce to you almost as a complete stranger, the lecturer, Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe; because, I understand, he has been absent from this Colony for no less than sixteen years; and an absence of such length as that may fairly render him a stranger—a distinguished stranger—amongst us, whom I have great pleasure in introducing.

You all know that Mr. Wickremasinghe is a native of this Island and one of its most distinguished sons. He comes from Galle, where he was educated at Richmond College; after serving a period in his own country he went to Europe and there studied in more Universities than one; he has carried off many prizes; he has now attained to a position of considerable distinction in the University of Oxford; and we are beholden to him as the nominal editor, but really the author of the “*Epigraphia Zeylanica*.”

The Society, I think, may congratulate itself on having secured Mr. Wickremasinghe to lecture to us this evening; but in speaking to us in this room he is really speaking to a much larger audience—the whole reading and educated population of Ceylon. Though we, as a Society, must necessarily accord to him our thanks for having undertaken to lecture for us, I feel that the Colony which has given him birth, and for which I am glad to think he is still working, has some right to claim that one of her distinguished sons, on returning after an absence of sixteen years, should give some report of his proceedings and place us in possession of some of the knowledge which he has acquired during his absence.

2. Mr. WICKREMASINGHE then delivered his lecture, which was illustrated by lantern slides.

## THE ANTIQUITY OF STONE ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA AND CEYLON.

By DON M. DE Z. WICKREMASINGHE.

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It is indeed a marvellous fact, considering the high antiquity of Indian culture, that not a single monument possessing any architectural value has yet been discovered in India or Ceylon which can safely be said to belong to a period earlier than the middle of the third century before Christ.

Yet, when we examine the oldest monuments of this period, we are confronted, not with a primitive type of architecture just struggling its way up, or with a crude imitation of a foreign one, but with an indigenous style of a highly artistic order already taken root all over India, as may be judged from specimens in Nepal in the north, in Ceylon in the south, and amongst the caves and ruins of Eastern, Central, and Western India.

James Fergusson, one of the greatest authorities on Indian architecture, writing in 1884, expressed as his opinion that the architecture of India remained throughout a purely indigenous art. The explorations which have since been undertaken have not brought to light any building to upset this theory.

It is true that in the case of pillars and certain sculptures, as well as in certain decorative elements, we find sure signs first of Persian, then of Greek influence. But this influence was purely superficial and did not affect the indigenous character of Indian architecture.

We see this clearly from the sculptures on the gateways of the Sanchi Stupa. The relief on the right jamb of the east gateway is often given as a typical example of Persian style. It represents the first or the second floor of a great palace.

*Slide 1.* The pillar with bell-shaped capitals is distinctly Persian, as surmounted by winged goats, horses, and lions, but in other respects it is purely Indian.

*Slide 2.* This is also true in the case of the carvings on other gateways of Sanchi. Slide 2 is an illustration of the northern gateway. Here you see the winged lion side by side with the ordinary lion.

*Slide 3.* Details of Chaldæo-Assyrian embroidery containing winged animals.

*Slide 4.* A compartment of the third archway of the east gate of Sanchi. Here are seen two figures riding on horned lions. One holds what seems to be a bunch of grapes in his hands. The shape of his head and the coarse features of his face give him a non-Indian appearance. Dr. Grünwedel says: "Although the



framework of the figure is in the Perso-Indian style, at any rate this and the corresponding equestrian figures represent foreign nations, regarded as living far away in the north-west. The whole series of these figures—those mounted on goats and lions—presents a distinct contrast to the Hindús riding on elephants."

We find, moreover, traces of Greek influence in decorative elements on buildings of the Aśoka period, third century B.C. In the Gandhāra sculptures of the beginning of the Christian era Greek art more or less of a decadent character predominates.

Here are a few examples :—

*Slide 5.* Birth of the Buddha, representing persons drawing a curtain round Buddha's mother (Mahamāyā Dēvi), while she is holding the branch of the *sal* tree to give birth to Buddha.

*Slide 6.* Represents angels receiving the child in a golden net.

*Slide 7.* Searching the ten directions and finding no one like himself, he took seven strides and sang the song of victory.

*Slide 8.* Buddha about to leave the palace.

*Slide 9.* Channa bringing out the horse Kanthaka.

*Slide 10.* The renunciation.

*Slide 11.* Buddha preaching.

*Slide 12.* Buddha's Mahāparinirvāna.

*Slide 13.* Buddha's Mahāparinirvāna with *sāla* trees, between which the couch was prepared.

The Gandhāra school of Indian art, to which all these sculptures belong, flourished during the first four centuries of the Christian era.

The development of this art from Greek, Roman, and even Christian patterns has been fully discussed: it is superfluous to dwell upon it here.

My object in showing these examples is simply to point out the fact that though they are the results of foreign influence, yet the artists who produced them were not foreigners. They belonged to one of the North-west Indian tribes, whose religion was Buddhism; and this must be borne in mind in considering the antiquity of stone architecture in India.

Let us now revert to the early Indian school.

As stated before, no monuments of any importance belonging to this school have yet been discovered either in India or in Ceylon which can be ascribed to a period anterior to the time of Aśoka or Dēvānampiyā Tissa: that is to say, anterior to the first half of the third century B.C. The earliest monuments belong to the Aśoka period, and they consist of *stambhas*, *stūpas*, *chaityas*, *vihāras*, &c.

*Slide 14.* Pillars, most of them monolithic, with lion or elephant capitals surmounted by religious symbols such as the *dharma chakra*, "the wheel of the law." Copies of them may be seen carved on the Sānchi gateways.

Some of the finest pillars were those erected by Aśoka, either to proclaim his Government policy, or to commemorate an important event connected with his religion, which was Buddhism.

We know from historical records that he had them erected in great numbers on a gigantic scale. Two graced the approaches to the Great Stúpa of Sánchi. The northern pillar which supported a statue, probably of the Buddha, was about 45 feet high; the southern pillar, which was crowned by four lions standing back to back, was about 40 feet high. Both pillars are composed of highly polished fine sandstone. The monolithic shaft of the southern pillar was 32 feet in height. Of the other Aśóka pillars of similar design, two only stand in a condition practically perfect.

*Slide 15.* One of them is at Lauriya-Nandangarh in the Champaram district, of which you see here a good illustration.

*Slide 16.* In general design this pillar resembles the other one *in situ* at Bakhira, but is less massive, having only a polished shaft of 32 feet 9½ inches long, which diminishes in diameter towards the top. The abacus is circular, and is decorated on the edge with a relief representation of a row of *hansas* or swans. The swans are sometimes represented carrying lotus buds in their beaks.

This *hansa* ornamentation is a common feature in specimens of stone carvings in Ceylon.

Between the eleventh and thirteenth year of his reign, Aśóka sent out missionaries to preach the doctrine of Gautama Buddha.

According to the Ceylon chronicles, one of these missionaries was Mahinda, a son of Aśóka, by a lady of Vedissagiri or Vessanagara, probably the ruined city of Besnagar near Bhilsa, in Central India. He, with his sister Sanghamitta and several other followers, succeeded in converting the then reigning monarch of Ceylon, Dēvánampiya Tissa, and in establishing Buddhism as the state religion.

Like Aśóka, this king, Dēvánampiya Tissa, also erected a stone pillar, probably with an inscription, on the site of the Mahá-thúpa or Ruvanveli Dágaba, but no trace of it now remains.

*Slide 17.* He built also the cave temple Vessagiri, so called probably in remembrance of Mahinda's birthplace Vessanagara, as well as the original Isurumuniya temple, carved out of the natural rock.

*Slide 18.* This is the appearance of the latter in 1879, before the place was disfigured by repairs.

*Slide 19.* A Ceylon specimen of a monolithic pillar. It is of course not so old as the Aśóka pillars, but still you see how chaste the carvings on its capital are.

Amongst the other stone monuments of old Indian school, the caves of Udayagiri in Orissa are most interesting.

*Slide 20.* The sculptures found there, especially those in the two-storeyed Ráj-Ránika Núr caves, are considered to be little influenced by foreign elements.

Grünwedel thinks that they form, so to speak, the primitive basis from which issued the purified and refined forms of later times.

The caves of Barabar hills near Gáya were excavated by order of Aśóka for the use of the Ajévaha ascetics.

*Slide 21.* This shows the front view of one of them known as the Lomas Rishi cave. The mastery displayed in the execution of this cave dwelling is simply perfect.

To a later period (200 B.C. to 300 A.D.) belong the Bhāja Buddhist caves between Bombay and Poona.

*Slide 22.* The ancient cave at Talaja: probably Buddhist, and of the second century B.C.

*Slide 23.* The hall. It is without side chambers, and measures 75 feet by  $67\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and is  $17\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. The upper ornaments of the façade are of unusual simplicity.

*Slide 24.* The Pāṇḍu-leṇa caves near Nāsik, Western India: about 100 B.C.

*Slide 25.* The hall of the Nāsik Buddhist cave No. 3, containing inscriptions of the Andhra king Gautamiputra Śātakarna. about the second century A.D.

*Slide 26.* The great Chaitya cave at Karle: one of the best known in Western India. It is the largest and best preserved of its class, and probably belongs to the first century B.C. Its dimensions are 124 feet 3 inches deep by  $45\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide and 46 feet high.

*Slide 27.* The interior of the cave. The absence of any figure of the Buddha or any symbol of worship, except the chaitya, is remarkable.

*Slide 28.* The Kailāsa cave at Ellora.

*Slide 29.* The Visvakarma cave at Ellora, 85 feet by 45 feet, seventh century A.D. It shows a strong Brāhminical tendency.

In the cave temples of the Aśoka period we find some distinct architectural features which help archaeologists to fix the age of other caves. Take, for instance, the Somas Rishi cave mentioned before. It was excavated in or about the twelfth year of Aśoka, 250 B.C. The date was fixed from the Aśoka inscriptions found on them, especially from the one on the Sudhamma cave.

Here we see distinct traces of wood having been used in the construction of the whole of the front portico. In the Bhāja cave, which is essentially identical in style, the whole of the front, the ribs of the roof, and all the difficult parts of the construction were originally in wood. Taking these examples as his patterns, Fergusson was able to trace step by step the gradual development of cave architecture in India.

*Slide 30.* According to him this Ajanta cave No. 9 belongs to the first, or late second, century B.C. He says: "It may be considered not only the oldest chaitya cave in Ajanta, but one of the earliest of its class in the west of India."

*Slide 31.* Ajanta cave No. 7.

*Slide 32.* Ajanta cave No. 16, interior.

*Slide 33.* Ajanta cave No. 17, verandah.

*Slide 34.* Ajanta cave No. 19.

*Slide 35.* Ajanta cave, interior. The chaitya has become a spire over a statue of Buddha.

Let me now draw your attention to a different class of buildings, namely, the stupendous stúpas built by the ancient Indian architects. A *stúpa* (P. *thúpa*), commonly called in Ceylon *dágaba*, was usually destined to enshrine the relics of a Buddha or a saint, or to mark the scene of some important Buddhist event.

It was in Aśóka's time a solid hemispherical mass of masonry, springing from a plinth which formed a perambulating path for worshippers, and supporting on its flattened top "a square altar-shaped structure," surmounted by a series of stone umbrellas. The base was usually surrounded by a stone railing, often richly ornamented with elaborate sculptures in relief.

*Slide 36.* The Sanchi Stúpa. It measures 106 feet in diameter, and its total height must have been more than 100 feet. The reliefs covering the pillars and cross lintels which you have already seen, represent scenes from the life of Buddha, such as the dream of his mother Máya Déví, Buddha's trial of the bow as Prince Siddhártha, his palace life, and love scenes, his visit to Káśyapa, and so on. The railing here, which is highly decorated, is supposed to be later than Aśóka's time. But at Buddha Gayá remains of some railings of Aśóka's age have been found. Those discovered at Patna may, according to Mr. Vincent Smith, be even earlier.

*Slide 37.* The east gateway of Barahut Stúpa, showing three rail pillars with coping stone.

In Ceylon also Buddhist railings have somewhat recently been brought to light.

*Slide 38.* This illustration shows one unearthed in Anurádhapura by the Archæological Commissioner, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, some ten years ago, at one of the most ancient sites near Abhayagiri Dágaba. The railing enclosed a rectangular piece of ground about 140 feet by 110 feet. It is, as you see, quite unornamented except at the four entrances, where stood guard stones, or terminals, facing one another and morticed to the rails at the back. These terminals rise only 18 inches above the coping, their design displays a chaste simplicity unaffected by the elaboration of a later age.

The surface ornament is a tall lotus plant planted in a bowl-shaped vase with single elongated stalk, throwing off leaves on either side and issuing either in a full-blown flower or a bud. The lines are as sharp as though just cut.

*Slide 39.* An idea of the importance of this site may be gathered from the huge Abhayagiri Dágaba close by, which, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, was about 405 feet high (i.e., 50 feet higher than St. Paul's Cathedral) and 360 feet in diameter. The height is now reduced, but the base still covers about 8 acres of ground.

Such are some of the characteristic features of the stone architectural remains of the second and third century B.C.

No building which can be ascribed to an earlier period has yet been found. These facts have led students of Indian art to

come to the conclusion that the Indians, like the Burmese, the Japanese, and the Chinese, employed wood and wood only for all architectural purposes. Fergusson and many others have even gone so far as to assert that the Indians began to use stone for building purposes for the first time in the Aśoka period, and they must have copied it from the Greeks.

Grünwedel also seems to support this theory.

Now, the first Greek invasion, which lasted only about four years, took place in April or May, 327 B.C. The date of Aśoka's monuments may be fixed at about 242 B.C. The intervening period was only 85 years, and, if we accept the Greek theory, the change from wood to stone must have taken place in this short time. But is it possible for a conservative nation like the ancient Indians to adopt a new material and to become so efficient in the handling of this material as to produce magnificent monuments all over India and Ceylon within a period of say 100 or 150 years? I doubt it.

It is, of course, true that the earliest buildings in India belonged to the Buddhists, and none belonging to other contemporary religious sects have yet come to light. From this we must conclude that either the Buddhists during the Aśoka period destroyed all non-Buddhistic buildings then in existence, or such buildings, if any were in existence, were entirely constructed of wood.

The remains of Buddhist monuments, however, are in themselves quite sufficient to form an accurate idea of the art and culture of India in the time of Aśoka. There were stone-cutters who could quarry gigantic shafts of hard sandstone 30 to 40 feet long, or enormous block of granite, and polish them like jewels. There were master-carvers and engravers who must have had chisels and tools quite equal to carving the hardest stone and producing reliefs representing vivid scenes from life. There were skilful architects and engineers who were capable of erecting spacious and lofty edifices. Such being the case, is it possible to imagine that the Indians could have attained to this degree of perfection in the use of stones for building purposes, without centuries of previous training?

There is not the slightest doubt that they built in wood also, and that some of their stone sculptures were copies of wooden originals. But this fact, as well as the absence of pre-Aśoka buildings and the invasion of Alexander the Great, do not necessarily lead one to conclude that the Indians used stones for building purposes for the first time in the reign of Aśoka, and that they must have got the idea from the Greeks.

On the contrary, it is more probable that both these styles existed side by side. Wood might have been employed more extensively in secular buildings, for no ruins of secular buildings of any antiquity have yet been discovered.

In Ceylon the upper structure of many a ruin must have been wood. We see this clearly from the arrangement of monolithic pillars on stone stylobates decorated with highly finished mouldings.

*Slide 41.* The remains of "the Brazen Palace," *Lohā Mahā-prāsādaya*, at Anurādhapura, erected by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi about

the second century B.C. The pillars, 1,600 in number, supported a many-storeyed building, most probably of wood and bricks.

*Slide 42.* A flight of steps with *makara* balustrades leading up to the raised floor of a rectangular building supposed to be a viháre (south of Thúpáráma Dágaba). The bas-reliefs on the *makara* balustrades are unique. On either side of the entrance is noticeable a portion of the stone basement ornamented with ogee moulding. The polished flag at the top of the steps marks the spot where the door was. The pillars must have supported some sort of wooden structure.

*Slide 43.* The carved representation of the *makara* in Ceylon—a crocodile with gaping jaws, boar's tusks, trunk like that of an elephant coiled above its snout, peacock's tail expanded, and feet and talons of an eagle.

*Slide 44.* A *makara-torana* : an ornamental arch above doorways and images in Buddhist temples, springing usually from two profile *makaras* facing each other and generally surmounted by figures of Dévas.

*Slide 45.* The rock-cut figure of Buddha (4 feet 2 inches) at Isurumuniya.

The *makara* arch is not an uncommon feature in Indian monuments.

*Slide 46.* This one is from the Ajanta caves, and it differs very little from the Ceylon arch.

*Slide 47.* A view of the Thúpáráma Dágaba at Anurádhapura. The most attractive feature of it is the arrangement of the ornamental pillars on the platform. They are all slender monoliths of elegant proportions. The carvings of the capitals are singularly beautiful. They contain folial ornaments as well as grotesque figure-sculptures, and are fringed with tassels depending from the mouths of curious masks.

*Slide 48.* The pillars are arranged in four concentric circles, and decrease in height as the circles expand, the innermost being 23 feet, and those of the outside circle 14 feet high.

The illustrations of ancient architectural remains which you have now seen are sufficient to support the contention that in India and Ceylon both wood and stone were in use in the first three centuries before Christ—wood more extensively for secular buildings.

This state of affairs exists even to this day, and it must have existed very many centuries before the Aśoka period.

It is true that no pre-Aśoka buildings have as yet been found in India. This can easily be accounted for. The Indian climate and white ants might have destroyed the wood architecture.

As for remains of stonework, any day some building may be discovered by the Indian Archæological Department that will settle this point. One has already come to light, namely, the hill fortress of Giribhaja, with its stone walls, built by the architect Mahá Góvinda before the sixth century B.C., according to Professor Rhys Davids.

Even if no others are to be found, we can still account for the absence of pre-Aśoka stonework. I personally know some ancient sites in Ceylon which have been denuded of their stone work—and the like—by overseers and contractors of the Public Works Department, who happened at the time to be building culverts and repairing roads in the neighbourhood. Why could not such a thing happen in ancient times? We know Aśoka was a great builder. His example might have been followed by other Buddhist rājās and rich men of the time. These officers might have demolished many of the non-Buddhistic buildings and made use of the material for their own works.

Turning now to documentary evidence, we find in the Buddhist scriptures references to stone pillars, staircases, &c., although not to palaces of stone, except in a fairy tale.

Rhys Davids, in his most interesting work on Buddhist India, makes special notice of another sort of stone buildings, namely, the hot-air baths, which he says are described in full in the Vinaya text of the Buddhist Canon. These baths, according to the learned Professor, "were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone, with stone stairs up to it and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skins and then with plaster, the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an antechamber, and a hot room and a pool to bathe in." In the *Dīgha Nikāya* there is a description of an open air bathing tank with a flight of steps leading down to it, faced entirely of stone and ornamented with carvings. All these existed before Alexander's invasion.

Ruins of several bathing tanks of this kind of a later date are still to be seen in Ceylon at Anurādhapura.

*Slide 49.* This is an illustration of one of them.

In the *Ummaga Jātaka* we read an account of a tunnel constructed by Mahaviśadha Paṇḍit. Although no mention of stone architecture is made therein, yet, as it is full of points of interest, I venture to quote from it:—"The gate of the greater tunnel was near the river. Six thousand powerful warriors began digging at the greater tunnel. The gate of the lesser tunnel was in the new town. About 700 giants were at work on it; they carried the earth in leathern bags to town, and heaped it therein; the earth so brought they mixed with water to build ramparts therewith, and also used it for plastering walls and the like. The entrance to the greater tunnel was in the same city. The tunnel was provided with a number of doors eighteen cubits high, curiously contrived with machinery, by which one of the nails of any door being pressed, all the doors were closed, and a second nail being pressed, all the doors were opened. Either side of the tunnel was worked with bricks and plastered with stucco. The top of the tunnel was roofed in with planks and polished with shells, and the whole place was made white with *makul*. This greater tunnel contained eighty large doors and sixty-four small ones. All of these were fitted with machinery. On either side of the tunnel there were several hundreds and thousands of lamp-houses. The locks of the doors of these, too, were contrived

with machinery. And, again, there was on either side of the tunnel bedrooms for all the hundred princes, and the locks of the doors were of machinery. In each bedroom there was placed a large bed, decorated with variously-coloured beddings and trappings, and in each room there was a throne, surmounted by a white umbrella, and decorated in the same way. In rooms there were modelled figures of women as fair as goddesses, dressed in all woman's attire, so beautifully done that a person that did not know of it would not be able to distinguish them from real women, unless by touching. And, again, there were charming paintings done on either side of the tunnel by clever artisan painters. On either side of the tunnel were caused markets to be made to contain various sorts of merchandise. In every part they hung up garlands of sweet-smelling flowers."

It is, of course, difficult to believe that the Indians of the Buddhist period could have excavated a tunnel as described here. Still this story shows that the Indians in those ancient days had most advanced ideas, and certainly were not lacking in highly inventive faculty.

*Slide 50.* Before I leave this period of Indian art, let me show you two steatite vases discovered at Sonari and Piprahva Stūpas. The former is in Central India, near Bhilsa, and the latter at Birdhpur, six miles from the frontier of Nepal. It will be seen that they have inscriptions in the oldest Brāhmi character yet discovered in India. The top three are different photos of the Sonari vase, which, according to the inscription, contained relics or ashes of Kāśyapa, the Buddhist missionary sent by Aśōka to the Himalaya region. The lower two are photos of the Piprahva vase discovered by Mr. Peppe about two and a half years ago in his estate. It is considerably older than the Sonari one.

During Buddha's lifetime, both Bimbisāra and his successor Ajātasatru were reigning at Rājagṛaha, the capital of Magadha. Their contemporary was the celebrated autocrat of the Persian empire, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who sent an expedition to India and managed temporarily to hold sway in the Indus valley.

We thus see that more than two centuries before Alexander's invasion of Punjāb, the Indians came in contact with a nation who used stone for building purposes. Mr. Vincent Smith, in his work on "Early India," says, in reference to Hellenic influence, that "the Maurya empire was not, as some recent writers fancy that it was, in any way the result of Alexander's splendid but transitory raid. Candragupta did not need Alexander's example to teach him what empire meant. He and his countrymen had before their eyes for ages the stately fabric of the Persian monarchy, and it was that empire which impressed their imagination, and served as a model for their institutions, in so far as they were not indigenous."

Mr. Vincent Smith's conclusions may be correct so far as Government institutions are concerned. But in art the Persian influence has only affected certain forms of architectural detail as a natural consequence of a long period of friendly intercourse.



We cannot deduce from it that the Indians learned the art of carving in stone from the Persians or from the Greeks, or that they followed their example in using stones for building purposes.

It is true, as the late Mr. Baden Powell has pointed out, that the rich clay soil of Northern India did not necessitate the use of stones very extensively. We must, nevertheless, remember that long before this Buddhistic period, Válmikí composed the great epic poem *Rámáyana*. From Professor Macdonnell's lucid account of this poem in his history of Sanskrit literature, we see that Válmikí must have got his materials from epic tales then current in Ayódhya, narrating the fortunes of the Ikshváku dynasty.

This poem, as well as the oldest portions of the *Mahábhárata*, give us an insight into the state of Indian culture in pre-Buddhistic times. They contain long descriptions of temples, two-storeyed buildings, balconies, porticos, triumphal arches, enclosing walls, flights of stone masonry steps, and a variety of other structures—all indicative of a flourishing architecture in India and in Ceylon, the kingdom of Rávana.

As we carry our investigations further back into the Vedic period all references to stone buildings gradually vanish. Vedic scholars agree that the houses of the Vedic Áryans were built of wood. Their domestic fire was burnt in the central portion of each house. Their fortified enclosures were made on high ground, and consisted of earth works strengthened with stockade or occasionally with stone.

I have so far dealt with the architecture of the Áryans. But we must understand that even in the Vedic period there were very many tribes of non-Áryans—the aboriginal inhabitants of India—who were as civilized as the Áryan invaders. They must have had some sort of architecture at one period or other. Possibly the comparatively modern Jaina and Dravidian styles are offshoots of it.

*Slide 51.* Here is, for example, a general view of the Rathas at Mahavallipore. They are supposed to be the oldest of the kind in South India. They represent the Dravidian style of the sixth or seventh century A.D.

*Slide 52.* Subramaniya's temple at Tanjore, built by Saivites in the twelfth or thirteenth century. It is one of the purest of Dravidian buildings.

*Slide 53.* A smaller temple near it, of the same age.

*Slide 54.* A pagoda, also at Tanjore, built in the fourteenth century. It is about 190 feet high, and dedicated to Siva.

*Slide 55.* Details of the same pagoda.

*Slides 56 and 57.* Tower over Tanjore palace; Gópura of Seringham temple at Trichinopoly, 150 feet high.

*Slide 58.* Inner gateway of Seringham, with 16 pillars.

In Ceylon also we find the Dravidian style greatly predominating in monuments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

*Slide 59.* We see it, for example, in this ruin of the *Satmáhál-prasáda* at Polonnáruwa, as well as in the ruins of the *Jétavaná-ráma*, an imposing building 170 feet long, with walls about 12 feet thick and 80 feet high.

*Slide 60.* In *Kiri Vehera* also, built in the twelfth century, we see clearly the Dravidian style.

*Slide 61.* On the embankment of *Tópávewa*, an artificial tank of about three miles in length constructed by *Parákrama Báhu*, is a large statue carved in the solid rock. It is supposed to be a representation of the king in the attitude of holding a palm leaf of the Buddhist scriptures, probably emblematic of his devotion to the Buddhist church.

*Slide 62.* The temples at Palitana near Gujarat will give you an idea of Jaina architecture.

*Slide 63.* *Adisvara* temple.

*Slides 64 and 65.* *Mortisah* temple.

*Slide 66.* *Prenichand* temple.

*Slide 67.* Interior of *Bhulavani* temple.

The history of Indian architecture is an immense subject, requiring years of patient study. It is so religious in its character that we can get from every phase of its style an accurate idea of the rise, progress, and decline of religious ideas not only in India proper, but also, I may say, in all Eastern Asia.

With the aid of these few illustrations, I have endeavoured to bring before you the following facts, namely :—

- (1) The existence of an advanced style of stone architecture in the third century before Christ.
- (2) At this period the Indians were masters in the art of carving in stones—a proficiency which required hundreds of years of previous experience.
- (3) This type of ancient Indian architecture covered an area extending from the most northern parts of India down to Ceylon—a fact which must be taken into account when discussing the antiquity of stone architecture in India.
- (4) Long before Alexander's invasion the Indians came in touch with the Persians, who used stones for building purposes.
- (5) In India several styles of architecture exist, of which the Dravidian style must have had a long history, probably going back to a pre-Buddhist period.

*Archæological Survey, Ceylon.*

Before concluding, I desire, and think it will not be inappropriate to refer to the work of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon, which is connected so greatly with stone architecture.

I have been quite recently fortunate enough to be able to re-visit, after sixteen years, the scene of my labours in the North-Central Province, where for two years I worked as an Assistant to Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archæological Commissioner.

I was greatly struck with the progress made by the Survey, and the large amount of good work accomplished.

To appreciate and understand archæological work it is absolutely necessary to visit the places of excavation; only then can one rightly judge of what has been, and is being, done.

I wish particularly to draw attention to important excavations that I saw which had already been carried out, or are now proceeding, at Poġonnaruwa. An important rock temple (*Gal Viháré*) with beautiful stone statues of Buddha has been fully unearthed. Frescoes have been discovered at a brick built viháré, styled popularly *Demala Mahá Seyá*, the excavation of which is nearing completion. These paintings give promise, in some respects, of eclipsing the well-known Sigiri frescoes, facsimiles of which are in the Colombo Museum.

3. Mr. A. E. ROBERTS in a brief speech contended that stone buildings existed in India in the eleventh century before the Christian era.

4. The Hon. Mr. P. ARUNÁCHALAM in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer expressed a hope that it might be possible for the Ceylon Government to offer Mr. Wickremesinghe sufficient inducement to return and settle in the Island.

The Hon. Mr. H. L. CRAWFORD seconded the vote of thanks. Carried cordially.

#### INSCRIPTION AT MIHINTALE.

5. SATISCHANDRA VIDYABHUSANA, a scholar from India, addressed the Meeting by permission of the President regarding a rock inscription recently discovered at Mihintale, which, he stated, could not be later than the third century before the Christian era, and which was the oldest record extant in Ceylon or India. He then gave a full description\* of the inscription, which he proceeded to interpret as follows:—

#### *Translation of the Inscription.*

..... the eldest son enjoined by adorable preceptor and sent by father (comes) accompanied by four men; and, desirous of doing good steals away the sin of people—by leaning, standing, and sitting on (this) land.

6. Mr. WICKREMASINGHE criticised the reading and translation of the rock record. The inscription from the character belonged palæographically to the second century after Christ, and was far from being the oldest inscription extant. He could not agree with the translation. In his opinion the record merely stated that somebody had constructed a tank, and that certain fields irrigated by that tank had been granted to a certain temple. Doubtless a copy of the inscription was among the squeezes of Mihintale rock records taken by the Archæological Commissioner.

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Dr. Bawa and seconded by Archdeacon de Winton.

\* The Indian scholar having by letter, of November 10, 1909, acknowledged that his "interpretation of the inscription was based on a wrong copy," and incorrect, his laboured description has been omitted.—*Ed. Sec.*

## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, December 18, 1909.*

Present :

His Excellency Sir Henry McCallum, G.C.M.G., Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President.

Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Vice-President.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. T. P. Attygalle.

Mr. C. O. Canagaratnum.

Mr. F. H. Chambers, B.A.,  
C.C.S.The Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford,  
C.M.G.

Mr. E. S. Dasanayaka, B.A.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Rev. J. P. de Pinto.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. D. Devapuraratna, Proctor,  
Supreme Court.

Mr. C. A. Galpin.

Mr. A. H. Gomes.

Mr. A. M. Hamid.

Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.

Rev. L. A. Joseph, M.A., B.D.

Mr. A. Lewis.

Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.

Mr. D. Montagu, A.M.I.C.E.

Mr. C. Namasivayam, J.P.

Mr. P. E. Morgappah.

Ven. M. Sri Nanissara.

Mr. S. Obeyesekere, Barrister-at-  
Law.

Mr. J. Peiris, M.A., LL.M.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M.,  
C.C.S.

Mr. A. E. Roberts, Proctor, S.C.

Mr. W. Samarasingha.

Mr. J. M. Seneviratna.

Mr. W. T. Southorn, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. G. W. Sturgess, M.R.C.V.S.

S. Sumangala Terunnansé.

Mr. F. A. Tiseverasingha,  
Advocate.

Mr. P. D. Warren, F.R.G.S.

Mr. D. E. Wanigasuriya, Proctor,  
Supreme Court.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Nine ladies and nineteen gentlemen.

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*Business.*

1. Mr. Joseph read the minutes of the last General Meeting, and of a Special General Meeting held on September 8, 1909, and these were confirmed.

2. Announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting held on August 18, 1909.

3. His Excellency the Governor then invited the President, Sir Hugh Clifford, to read a Paper entitled "Notes on Delft," by the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., whose absence they all regretted.

4. The President said he greatly regretted the absence of Mr. Lewis, whose Paper he was about to read, although it gave him pleasure to do so on Mr. Lewis's behalf. He also regretted that he did not know the right pronunciation of the native words and proper names in the Paper, and he hoped for their kind indulgence for any mispronunciation of these.

He then read the following Paper :—

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## NOTES ON DELFT.

By the Hon. Mr. J. P. LEWIS, C.C.S.

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THE island of Delft, called by the natives *Neduntivu*, which means "Long island," is situated 16 miles to the south-west of Kayts island as the crow flies, and is about 6 miles long by an average of 3 broad. It is of coral formation and perfectly flat, the northern part consisting of groves of palmyras, and the southern of "stone-strewn plains covered with good grass and dotted with *suriya* trees."\* Its extent is about 11,500 acres (or 18 square miles), of which 2,500 or so are under dry grain cultivation, 1,100 under palmyras, and 4,700 pasture land. It comprises three villages known as Delft East (*Kilakku Kurichchi*), Delft Centre (*Nadu Kurichchi*), and Delft West (*Meṭku Kurichchi*). Of these, Delft West is the most prosperous. There are 20 miles of roads, rough and stony. A survey of the island was made in 1854 by Mr. D. Quinton.

The population at the Census of 1901 was 3,906, and at the end of 1905 it was estimated to be 4,050, an annual increase of about 7 per cent. in five years. There are about 1,000 people belonging to the island employed elsewhere in Ceylon.

The people possessed in 1905 four boats (*vattai*), all under 8 tons, and twenty catamarans.

The chief exports are mats, shark fins, ghee in bottles and pots, copra in bags, *pináddu*, dried palmyra seeds, coconuts, cotton thread, cuttle-fish bones, and cattle. Delft ghee is in demand at Jaffna. About 50 candies of copra, 20,000 coconuts, and 10,000 cadjans were exported from Delft to the Jaffna peninsula in 1905, also six boat loads of coral, four boat loads of *suriya* timber, and cow dung.

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\* An interesting account of "A Cruise among the Islands off Jaffna," by Mr. A. Clark, late of the Forest Department, was published in the "Ceylon Literary Register," vol. I., p. 24 *et seq.*

Mat-weaving is the chief industry of the women and old men. For a mat they get two measures of paddy, or 12 cents. These mats fetch about 15 cents each at Jaffna.

There is no pottery made, and the small quantity which is imported is taken great care of. A Delft man will spend three or four measures of grain in stopping a hole in a pot or chatty. "Holes in pots and pans are closed with two iron plates fixed together by a leaden nail rivetted on both sides. The Maniyagar bought a pot so mended for 25 cents, twice its ordinary price." (*Administration Report, Northern Province, 1905.*)

*Land Tenure.*—The system in Delft is peculiar and different from that prevailing anywhere else in Ceylon. The island is the property of the Crown, and the people are tenants of the Crown; but the term of occupation is of indefinite duration, and no rent has ever been imposed or recovered, except for dry grain cultivation on the plains. Notwithstanding the fact that the inhabitants who occupy lands are merely tenants-at-will, they have during British times at least been accustomed to make and receive transfers of these lands and to give dowries of them by notarial deed, as if the dominion was vested in themselves and not in the Crown. Up to the present year in Delft no lands had ever been sold by the Crown by public auction. In 1905 I recommended that some lands be put up for sale, and I am glad to see that this course has now been taken, and some acres were put up for sale this year (1908)—the first sale of Crown land in Delft by public auction.

*Climate.*—Though the island is on the whole healthy, there is a good deal of fever at the beginning of the year, and the infant mortality is great. The death-rate was about 28 per *mille* in 1905, but out of every 100 deaths 67 were those of children. The people live in small huts, which in wet weather have damp floors, and exposure to cold winds and rain after excessive heat probably accounts for much of the mortality. The establishment of a small hospital has been recommended, and one is, I believe, likely soon to be provided.

*Food Supply and Cultivation.*—Their chief food is palmyra produce and dry grain. A small quantity of paddy is cultivated in Delft West, and of recent years paddy has been grown in Delft East and Delft Centre as well. It is generally

cultivated along with *varaku*. The dry grains cultivated are *mondi* (*Andropogon sorghum*), *varaku* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*), and *saru* (*Panicum miliaceum*). *Mondi* was formerly cultivated in Valikamam West, but has been superseded there by paddy; it is said to be wholesome. In Delft, rice, which was at one time a luxury, is now becoming a general article of food. Milk and its products also contribute to the food of the well-to-do in the island. In the pasture lands there are usually about 150 stone enclosures in which dry grains are cultivated, "aggregating an area of about 6,000 *lachams*, with an average annual yield of about 8,000 bushels." (*Jaffna Catholic Guardian*, July 19, 1902.)

Toddy is in fact one of the chief articles of food of the Delft people. The following is an extract from the report of the Maniyagar for May, 1904:—"Health of people very good. All the people are fattened with toddy, and are quite drunk from morning till night, men, women, and children without exception." In 1905 he reported the health of the people to be good "as usual at this season, when all Delft is drunk but not disorderly. . . . All looking quite hale and hearty with the toddy." But according to the parish priest it makes them quarrelsome, if not disorderly. To quote him:—"Unlike other places, here all the castes are climbers, and during the toddy season everybody drinks toddy—men, women, and even boys and girls before they set out for school in the morning. It is, in fact, their food. The toddy drawing season lasts from January to September, and while it lasts the toddy-drinking makes the people most quarrelsome: husbands quarrel with wives, parents with children; in fact, everybody quarrels with every one else, but when there is no toddy the people are well behaved and peaceful." This blissful period of the absence of toddy is only for three or four months in the year. The toddy also is said to be stronger than toddy elsewhere, owing to its being drawn in *ola* baskets instead of pots.

Such was the burden of the parish priest's complaint, and the remedy he proposes is either to restrict the drawing of toddy to the male palmyra tree, which would reduce it by more than half, as there are fewer male than female palmyra



trees, and the male tree yields toddy for a much shorter period, or for Government to levy a tax of 50 cents on every tree tapped. The effect of the toddy season on the criminal statistics of the island is not, however, disastrous.

*Flora*.—Delft is famed for its medicinal herbs, which are much valued by the Jaffna people, especially a creeper called in Tamil *chintil*, *Tinospora cordifolia*, Sin. *rasakinda*, a powder obtained from the stem of which is said to purify the blood and to conduce to longevity. Large quantities are exported to Jaffna, Galle, &c.

A plant said to be peculiar to the island is *kavoti* (this is *Psoralea corylifolia*, Sin. *bodi*). I ascertained subsequently that it is not peculiar to Delft, but is commoner or more appreciated there than anywhere else. It has been recorded also from Anurádhapura, Nálanda, and Mannár, and has been found at Pandateruppu in the Jaffna peninsula.

Quantities are bought by the people of *Maṇḍativu* from the Delft people for manuring their fields, and licenses to collect the plant are issued annually to the Delft people at Rs. 4 each license. It would not pay to ship it to Jaffna for manuring purposes. The people of Delft are beginning to use it for manuring tobacco. In Delft nothing but tobacco is manured.

The prickly pear has become a nuisance in Delft; it has spread all over the place and covered many a good dry-grain land. It is said to have been unknown in the island previous to the cyclone of October, 1884, but this statement I can hardly credit; however, many people say that it was only after this cyclone that it began to spread in Delft. It is chiefly in the northern coast. The people have learnt to eat the fruit.

Next to the palmyra, the commonest trees are various kinds of banian, the *suriya*, and the *margosa*. There are some *palai* trees in Delft East, and two or three *baobab* trees (*Adansonia digitata*), probably introduced from Mannár. There are none in the Jaffna peninsula, nor in any Jaffna island but Delft.

*Fauna*.—The commonest birds all the year round are *mynas* and parrots, also larks; but many birds appear with the setting in of the north-east monsoon, including plenty of

wild duck in the *kalikal* or ponds. I do not think there are any jungle crows.

*Cattle*.—There is an excess of cattle in Delft. In 1902 it was calculated that there were about 5,500 coast cattle, 137 buffaloes, over 3,000 sheep, and over 2,000 goats. Taking the population at 4,000, the proportion was 141 horned cattle to every 100 inhabitants and 132 sheep and goats, whereas in the Jaffna District (including Delft) the numbers were 54 horned cattle and 44 sheep and goats to every 100 inhabitants. At present, though these cattle are owned by the people, they can hardly be said to be kept by them. The result is that they have increased in number beyond the capacity of the island for feeding them, have degenerated in size\* and condition, and have become more or less wild, so that in the plains the mere sight of a human being, native or European, sends them scampering. Yet the bulls are hardy, and have a reputation for working well. When a cow calves it is caught and brought to the owner's compound to be milked, and is tethered to one less wild. It is so wild that it cannot be milked into a pot or chatty, which would be broken, but a section of bamboo (*kaḍaiyal*) does duty for a milk pail. When the supply of milk diminishes, cow and calf are turned loose and return to the plains. A Village Committee rule requires the calf to be branded at eighteen months old. It generally gets away before the performance of that operation and before the owner realizes that it has gone. Boys are therefore sent to brand the calves in the plains, and this they do, when they have caught them, with the juice of the *saturukalli* (*Euphorbia antiquorum*), which is said to leave as marked an impression as a hot iron. The owners otherwise remain indifferent to the existence of the calves for about four years, when, if the owners happen to want them, the bulls are caught and castrated, and the cows are caught only if they happen to be in calf. Often the owner cannot find his quondam calf, and if it is found, it has already been branded by some one else; it is in every other respect *fera naturæ*. The other man, who has succeeded in branding some one else's calf, after the lapse

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\* To that of a large dog, in some instances.

of some years gives information to the Vidane, claims the animal, and has it registered in his name, in which it has already been branded.

When people from the other islands where cattle are scarce, such as *Punkudutivu* and *Nayinativu*, go over to Delft to buy cattle, they have sometimes to wait for three weeks while the Delft owner finds and catches his cattle, and during this period they are entertained at the expense of the seller. It does not occur to the Delft man that this expenditure in feeding the buyer virtually reduces the price he gets for the animal.

There are large quantities of cow dung in Delft, of which little use is made as manure. The cost of transporting it elsewhere for that purpose would be prohibitive, otherwise it would long ago have been used for this purpose in the peninsula and the other islands.

The practice of milking the cows with bamboos gives the milk a peculiar and disagreeable flavour.

The people cannot be made to realize that the heavy percentage of mortality among the cattle is due, in a great measure, to there being too many of them. They attribute it to the evil eye of the white man, *i.e.*, of the officials, for of white men only officials visit the island.

There is a considerable export, however, of sheep and goats from the island. It is to be regretted that the trade does not extend to cattle. It was suggested at a meeting of the Village Committee in 1905 that cattle should be folded or tethered at night, but the Committee decided that such a measure was impossible, as it was "peculiar to the cattle of Delft to graze all night and to lie under shade all day, and during the north-east monsoon they are infested with mosquitoes to such an extent that they run about all night, or get into the sea and remain there for hours."

Hence, at night all the cattle are on the seashore, and the shore is covered with cow dung, where it is of no use as manure.

Cattle are met wandering all over the place, and owing to their prevailing presence it is necessary to put all heaps of straw and grain out of their reach. Hence, platforms (*vadda*-

*daikal* or *vaddaraiikal*) are constructed, supported by three palmyra or other trees which may happen to be growing at a



A *Vaddarai* or *Vaddadai* at Delft.

convenient distance from each other, and these are roofed with palmyra leaves or grass, to store the straw on.

*The People.*—According to the Maniyagar the chief and most enthusiastic litigants are women, as property comes chiefly

through them in the shape of dowries, and the women do most of the trading also.

At a meeting of the Village Committee in 1904 one of the members suggested that some rules should be framed to check the spread of toddy-drinking, and the reason he alleged first was that "the women of the place are quite uncontrollable on account of the free use of toddy." But it is stated that the women are more energetic and of more consequence than the men, which perhaps explains this attempt at a crusade against "a monstrous regiment of women."

Dowries are usually given by word of mouth. Daughters when married are allowed to enjoy the produce of certain lands brought into the common stock by the mother. It is very seldom that daughters get any share of the produce of their father's lands. The sons share it among themselves on the death of the father. A son seldom takes anything when he marries, and does not set up a separate establishment. He lives with his father and works for him, and his wife lives at her parents' house. "The death of the parents of a newly-married couple is generally desired by them." So the Maniyagar remarks.

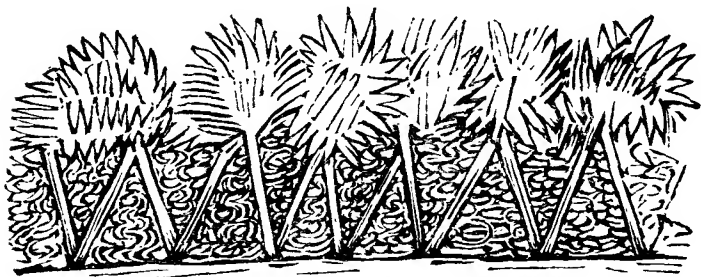
Alienation of the right to the produce of lands is by *kayī kanakku*, "a hand account" (which, of course, does not comply with the requirements of the Ordinance of Frauds and Perjuries).

In Delft a decree of the District Court is known as a *Provīntal tīrppu*. This is a survival from the days when there was a "Provincial court" at Jaffna, *i.e.*, from about 1807 to 1833.

Delft is noted for its healthiness and the longevity of its inhabitants. An old man died the other day whose age was stated to be 110. The Registrar-General made inquiries about it, and, the Maniyagar says, was satisfied of the correctness of the figure given. The Maniyagar had just registered (1902) the death of an old man named Perumayinar Visuvanatar, who had been to Colombo with horses in the time of Captain Nolan, and was already married at the time he went; this must have been at least eighty years ago, as Captain Nolan left the Island in 1824.\* (See footnote on page 349.)

An old woman gave a dowry in 1810. She brought the deed to the Maniyagar for examination in 1903.

Fences in Delft consist of walls of loose coral stones, supplemented, in the villages where there are palmyras, by leaves of that tree tied upright against them, as well as crosswise.



A Delft fence.

These stone walls, which remind one of County Galway in the west of Ireland (the birthplace, by the by, of the late Mr. R. W. Ievers, whose name will be as long connected with Delft as that of his fellow countryman Captain Nolan, and, curiously

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\* He retired in 1826, but I think left in 1824. Edward Nolan was gazetted a Second Lieutenant, 4th Ceylon Regiment, October 6, 1810, Commandant of Caltura, January 1, 1811, and First Lieutenant, September 25, 1811; took charge of Delft in 1811, and was confirmed in his appointment as Superintendent of Delft island, June 8, 1814. He was also "Sitting Magistrate and Fiscal for the Province of Delft."

He retired on January 1, 1826, returned to Ireland, and died in 1840. I have the authority of Sir William Twynam for stating that the Captain Nolan who carried the order for the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava was his nephew.

There is a tradition about him that in the last years of his life he became very oppressive to the people, and that as a punishment he was removed and sent to an island where there was no water. As a matter of fact, he returned to his native country, Ireland, which, unlike Delft, does not suffer from drought.

He was succeeded as Superintendent and Sitting Magistrate by Robert Atherton. These posts were abolished in 1833.

"He had a salary of £500 a year, and the privilege of subscribing to the Civil Fund for an annuity of £400 for life after twelve years' service in that situation, but although that gentleman had the troublesome duty of superintending the Government breeding stud, he was most illiberally restricted from Civil promotion or increase of salary."—Bennett, *Capabilities of Ceylon*. p. 125.

enough, the birthplace of his successor, the present writer, also), look quite neat when they are newly built and are in use to guard the crops, but when the field is not under cultivation they are allowed to fall down wherever they list, and there are consequently great gaps in most walls, which, with the stones of which they were built scattered about, give the place a very untidy appearance. It is impossible to climb over a wall of this kind without bringing down an avalanche of stones.

Delft has since 1902 had a Village Tribunal of its own. Before that the Police Magistrate of Kayts used to pay it monthly visits. The people seem to have taken kindly to Gansabhawa litigation, which has been classified as follows :—

January to March ..	.. Kavoti cases
April to June ..	.. Toddy cases
July to September ..	.. Palmyra cases
October to December ..	.. Sowing cases

The Delft people must have some sense of humour. The “gossip tree” will be described later. A recent apothecary was nicknamed “The iron doctor” (*irampu dakuttar*), an allusion apparently to his unsympathetic manner, possibly due partly to deafness. The evidence given in court and the sayings of the parties and witnesses, as in Gansabhawa cases elsewhere, are often quaint and amusing. An old woman defendant was asked whether she had any more witnesses, and replied dramatically, “Do you not hear the gecko chirping? He is confirming what I have said. What more do you want? Is it not evident that the plaintiff is lying?” She won her case, and thanked the gecko for his evidence.

*Forts, &c.*—The old Portuguese fort, a quarter of a mile west of the Government bungalow on the north coast of the island, is interesting, as having been in ruins when the Dutch took possession of Delft.

Baldæus gives a picture of this fort as it was when the Dutch took it from the Portuguese. It certainly, even at the present day, looks like a Portuguese building. But the tradition is that it was erected by Mikamam, a king of the fisher caste (*Karaiyar*). In October, 1903, I visited the ruins

of the other fort, which is known as “Vedi Arasan’s Fort.” They are situated in the north-west corner of the island, and some 3 or 4 miles from the Government house. The building, of which they are the remains, was apparently originally a square fort, and about 3 or 4 yards square, but is now merely a mound of coral stones grown over with prickly pear and *erukkalai* (*Calotropis gigantea*). It is probably, like the first fort, Portuguese, but they are both attributed to the traditional native kings, Vedi Arasan the *Mukkuvar* king and Mikámam the *Karaiyar* king. I understand, however, that there are places in the Batticaloa District called after these personages, in the same way that every large tank everywhere is attributed to “Kullakonḍan,” so that much weight need not be attached to the fact that particular places are called after them.

From the *Colombo Journal* I annex a description of the two forts as they were in 1832. The writer (who calls himself “Penn”) begins by stating that the Dutch went to considerable trouble in the island. “At the south side nearly 400 wells have been dug through a body of solid rock to obtain a good supply of water.”\* This refers to the wells at Sarippiddi in the south-west corner of the island.

“Ruins of considerable extent are visible in various places—a small but secure harbour on the north was formed by blasting through the coral reef,”† *i.e.*, the harbour at Mávil-turai, a mile to the east of the Government bungalow.

The writer goes on to describe the more important of the two forts :—

“A building of ‘strange structure and device’ was raised for the protection and habitation of the island lords. To call this a fort would be giving it too dignified a name ; to designate it a house would be still less near the mark ! Neither is it a tower, peel-house, or droog.‡ square, round, oval, or oblong ; ‘it is like itself only,’ a fortified habitation, known

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\* This is apparently the origin of the same statement in Casie Chitty’s *Gazetteer* published in 1834. Query : are he and “Penn” identical ?

† A statement also in Casie Chitty, who, however, is apparently quoting from this number of the *Colombo Journal*, March 22. 1832.

‡ *Sic.* droog = dry. in Dutch.



to the natives of the 'old fort.' In Baldæus's 'India' there is a print of this building, but so unlike, that were a person to sit down and draw a sketch from fancy of what might be found on Delft, he would very likely produce something infinitely more resembling it. The plate places it near a large tank, with hills in the background covered with groups of beautiful large trees—whereas in reality it is on a small esplanade close to the sea, without a tree save the palmyra, or a hole big enough to drown a cat in; and as for hills! There is not a spot on the whole land 20 feet above the level of the sea! *Ergo*, if our author's history is as true as his prints, it is an authentic record indeed!

"The only way I can describe the shape of this edifice is by supposing a square of 40 feet placed to the north of an oblong square of 90 feet by 45. The southern or principal front faces the small esplanade, and is 30 feet high, having two stories of two rooms each. The northern square facing the sea contains five upper rooms and four lower ones, or rather vaults, for they must have been extremely dark, from the total want of windows or doors, being only entered from above. There have been two entrances to the building, by flights of stone steps at the angles where the squares meet; an enemy is thus exposed to a flanking fire from the upper rooms, and also from the roof, which has been flat. The stone step of a flagstaff still remains in the floor of the principal room (the west one in the southern face), through the roof of which it has evidently been erected. Through the heart of one of the walls, which are of enormous thickness throughout, a stair leads to the roof from the upper storey, the only way by which it appears to have been gained. A further appearance of strength, indeed, is given to the building by a solid buttress of stone smoothly coated with chunam, erected entirely round the southern square, and reaching from the ground at an angle of 45° to the upper storey (or half the height of the wall). This, as well as a great part of the building, is still strong and repairable, though built of uncut coral, from the excellent cement which has been used. It is, however, now going fast to decay, principally from the roots of the different trees, so ruinous to buildings in





PORTUGUESE FORT AT DELFT.

Plate II.



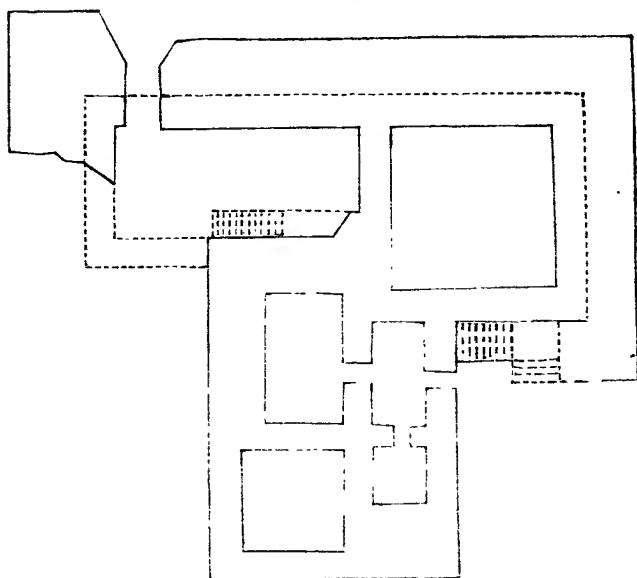
Bentrose Ltd., Derby, Eng.

PORTUGUESE FORT AT DELFT, FROM THE S.W.

this part of the world, and a few years will doubtless witness its fall."

It is but just to Baldæus's artist to state that in wet weather the ground round the fort is all under water and makes quite a pretty pond, much improving the appearance of the fort, whose frowning walls and deep embrasures surmounted by banian and palmyra trees are reflected in it.

#### DELFT FORT.



Plan at ground level.

The fort has gone a good deal more to decay since this description was written seventy-seven years ago. The number of rooms cannot now be made out, and the flights of stone steps have disappeared; only the main outlines of the original building are discernible (see plates I., II., and III.).

I annex a plan of this fort, which was kindly made for me by Mr. George Waddell, Provincial Engineer, Public Works Department. For the photographs from which the plates are engraved, I am indebted to Mr. John Scott, C.C.S.



and is so far different in style from any erection of the kind I ever saw, which were all solid, as are, I believe, the *dágobas* in the Kandyan territory. The foundations of four small temples are to be seen close to the larger one, and there have formerly been six, two at the sides of each flight of steps, one at the north, and one at the south fronts, all circular and bell-shaped, with chunam ornaments and mouldings. Were it not that the plough had passed over the adjacent grounds so often as to have obliterated all marks, I have little doubt the foundations of an outer wall would be seen, forming a square or compound to the temple; in one spot there is a part of a wall, but what renders it still more probable is a number of large stones, with square holes cut in them for supporting pillars, scattered in various places, and which have doubtless belonged to the 'Rhakians' and 'Swammy' houses surrounding the object of adoration."

It would appear from this description that this was really a native and not a Portuguese stronghold, otherwise the temples can hardly be accounted for. Nothing can now be distinguished of them or of the flights of steps.

To leave now the subject of the forts, the Maniyagar showed me an *itti*, or small-leaved ficus\* tree, on the side of the road between the Government house and the harbour, which is known as "The gossip tree" (*Minakkaḍḍan itti*), the "Scandal corner" of Delft, where the men congregate for that purpose. According to the Maniyagar, the men are much idler than the women, who are, in fact, of more importance. Latterly, another tree nearer the harbour has begun to supersede the original "Gossip tree."

There is a dry ditch running inland from the sea near the old Portuguese fort, known as "Nolan's canal" (*vaikkal*). It is connected with the small lagoons, or *kalikal*, which lie between this and the horse plains, and the tradition is that Captain Nolan used to go along it by boat to Vellai near the horse enclosure on the other side of the island,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles distant.†

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\* *Ficus retusa*.

† It was cut to drain off the flood water at the end of the year, but did not answer its purpose.

There is a picturesque dovecot here in the compound of the Government bungalow, which is, I think, Dutch (see plate IV.). It is substantially built of cut coral stones and contains eighty "houses" for the birds to nest in. It has been fortunate in escaping destruction. I am told that some of the people, headed by a former Magistrate, wanted it pulled down, on the ground that it harboured snakes, as if every stone wall in Delft did not do the same in a worse degree.

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*Some Historical Notes from Jaffna Diaries and the  
"Government Gazette."*

In September, 1797, "The islands of Delft and Two Brothers" (Iranaittivu) were made over to Lieut.-Colonel Barbut, Commandant of Jaffna, "the President in Council" (at Fort St. George) "having judged it advisable to issue orders to the Director of the Government stud at Delft for extending the breed of horses." Mr. John Jervis, the Assistant Resident and Collector at Jaffna, wrote (*October 4*) to Lieut.-Colonel Barbut congratulating him on these arrangements, "which you had so much at heart."

Lieut.-Colonel Barbut paid a visit to Delft between September 25 and October 10, taking over some horses from Adriampattam. He writes to Jervis from "Newtown" (Negapatam) on September 25, stating that he had sent a message to him "to beg of you to send me one of the Company's sloops to receive on board several mares and a stallion, the property of John Company. I shall go with them to Delft and then proceed to Jaffna, where I hope to be by the 10th of next month."

Iranaittivu has been so connected with Delft and its horse breeding in the past that a note on the smaller island may not be out of place here. (For an account of Iranaittivu, see *Spolia Zeylanica*, vol. V., part XVII., November, 1907.)

Lieut.-Colonel Barbut had a lease of "the islands called the Two Brothers or Irenetivoe" for ninety-nine years, from January 1, 1801; and in 1803, after his death, it was proposed to sell the rent of the unexpired portion of the period of the lease "by public outcry."

*Plate III.*



WINDOW IN FORT, DELFT.

*Plate IV.*



*Benrose Ltd., Derby, Eng.*

DOVE-COTE AT DELFT.





The rent was 1 rixdollar a year, with 30 rixdollars at the end of every thirty years. The sale was to be on September 1; what happened at it I have not been able to ascertain. No European or subject of the United States of America or other persons registered as such were to be accepted as purchasers.

The islands were described as being valuable on account of their herbage, "which is always luxuriant, and fit for the feeding and fattening of cattle of all description."

They are situated "adjacent to the western coast of Ceylon, and bearing south-west or nearly so of the Fort of Jaffnapatam and distant from it 16 miles north-east by north or nearly so from the Fort of Mannar, and distant from it 22 miles."

There was a storm on December 4, 1802, which seems to have done a good deal of damage "in the District of Annellatívoe." An account of the damage done was furnished to Government in the following March.

"In 1814 there was a terrific cyclone. The water swept over the island from the north-east and killed (November 25) two persons, all the sheep and goats, and about 500 cattle and some horses, and felled 4,000 palmyras, and left no house standing except the stone walls of the Government buildings." (*Diary of Government Agent, June 25, 1901.*) In the *Government Gazette* it is stated that on the night of November 25 the sea burst over the whole of the banks to the north and north-west, entirely inundating the island and causing the destruction of everything that came in its way. "All the houses, with the exception of the Government store houses, have been blown down, the hemp crop has been destroyed, and the wheat has sustained great injury, the hemp in store has been spoilt by salt water, two lives were lost, and the inhabitants have lost nearly the whole of their goats and sheep, with 4,000 palmyra trees.

"At the Two Brothers island the western wall of the large stable gave way and crushed to death 26 colts. The inhabitants are said to have lost 360 head of cattle; all the tanks and wells are filled with sea water."

The same cyclone made a breach in the Paumben reef for the first time, and this breach was subsequently enlarged by

the Indian Government and became the Paumben channel. "This led to the ruin of Mannar. For previously all vessels came to the north or south bar and discharged cargo, which was taken by dhonies and ballams through the channel and then re-loaded. There was a large village at each bar; these disappeared when trade was diverted to Paumben, and the importance of the Mannar Fort, as controlling the only channel coastwise north and south." (*Diary of Government Agent, Northern Province, June 25, 1901.*)

With the construction of the Mannár Railway, Mannár may regain some of its former importance, in which case the Paumben Railway will restore what the Paumben channel took away.

I must not close these notes without a reference to the horse breeding, which under the Portuguese gave the island a new name, *Ilha das Cavalhos*, Isle of Horses. Under the Portuguese, and after them under the Dutch, the whole island was given up to it. In British times, for the first third of the 19th century, the south of the island was reserved for horse breeding, and the end of that century saw a revival of it, but in 1906 the horse breeding establishment was finally abandoned. Extensive ruins of stables at Sarappiddi and a mile or so west of the Government bungalow on the north of the island, the latter known as the "Thirty Pillars," still remain standing, gaunt among the coral stones, the prickly pear, and the scattered palmyra trees of the plains, to show on what an extensive scale these operations were at one time carried on.

In April, 1814 (*Gazette*), Governor and Mrs. Brownrigg were to visit Delft from the pearl fishery. It does not appear whether the visit was made, but there is no reason to suppose that it was not. It is stated that "hemp\* of remarkably good quality is produced and wheat grown" in that island, "the

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\* Six bales of hemp were sent from Delft to Colombo in September, 1813, and in July, 1814, one ton of hemp from Delft to Trincomalee. In August, 1816, five bales were sent to Kayts. In July, 1814, there were also sent to Trincomalee 130 *poelams* of choya root (*Oldenlandia umbellata*). There is now no export of either. (There are six *poelams* to a pound weight.) "At one time the culture of hemp was thought of so much importance that it was introduced into Delft island, and Lieut. Edward Nolan of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment appointed to superintend it."—Bennett. *loc. cit.*, p. 125.

only part of Ceylon where it (wheat) has yet been found to thrive." Neither hemp nor wheat is now grown in Delft, though we have had two agricultural societies at work, one in the forties of last century and the present society of sixty years later date. I do not know of any other Governor's visit. There may have been others during pearl fisheries.

The Hon. Mr. Robert Boyd, Commissioner of Revenue, visited Delft in the schooner *Eliza*, which left Colombo on February 27, 1823.

5. HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR invited the Meeting to offer comments on the Paper, and none being forthcoming, His Excellency said that he would like to make one little remark. It had interested him on looking through the Paper before coming to the Meeting that a reference was made to the fact that a survey of the island of Delft was made in 1854 by Mr. D. Quinton. When His Excellency was in Singapore he had very often to refer to old plans, and like most old plans they were often inaccurate. But he frequently came across the name of D. Quinton, whose surveys were always reliable and accurate. His Excellency could not say whether this was the same D. Quinton; but if it was the same, they could rely on the survey being very good and accurate. The Paper that had been read was a most interesting and instructive one. He was sure that everybody would regret the fact that they were soon to lose Mr. Lewis, who took such an interest in the Island, and so thoroughly. They would all regret his departure when the time came to lose him. One fact, which would be of special interest to temperance workers at home, was that the inhabitants of Delft were always drunk, and, consequently, lived to a good old age!

6. HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR next called upon Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., to read his Paper entitled "The Dutch Embassy to Kanday in 1731-32."

Mr. PIERIS, before reading his Paper, said that he was unfortunate in that he had to follow the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, which placed him at a disadvantage.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR: Always follow him!

7. Mr. PIERIS, continuing, said that he had forgotten to bring the original manuscript, and as he lived 75 miles away there was no way of his getting it in time for the Meeting for their inspection. He then read the Paper, which is a translation by him from the Sinhalese of Wijésiriwardhana, Maha Mudiyansé, otherwise called Lewis de Saram, Maha Mudaliyár.

The original document was found in an old walawwa in Matara, and was placed at his disposal by Mudaliyár Gunaratna. The name of the writer was well known in the low-country, being that of a member of a family which supplied more Maha Mudaliyárs than any others.

Mr. PIERIS then read parts of the Paper.

[*For the Paper, see pages 187-220, ante.*]

Mr. A. E. ROBERTS offered some remarks.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR said that the Paper, like Mr. Pieris's other Papers, was a most interesting one. His Excellency had recently been going through another translation by Mr. Pieris's, viz., of Ribeiro's Ceilan, and he took that opportunity of congratulating Mr. Pieris on the work. His Excellency hoped that Mr. Pieris would always be ready to put his special talents to use in that direction for their benefit.

11. Mr. P. ARUNÁCHALAM said he had great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the gentlemen who had read the Papers, which were of the highest interest. Mr. Lewis's Paper was in every way a model Paper, which brought together interesting information on a variety of matters and such as Civil Servants should write. He was very sorry to hear that Mr. Lewis would soon be going away, and that they would lose further opportunity again of having such interesting Papers from him. Mr. Pieris's Paper, though of a different kind, was quite as interesting and was worthy of his scholarship and learning.

12. Mr. F. LEWIS seconded, and the vote was carried with applause.

13. Mr. J. PEIRIS proposed a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor for presiding over that Meeting. No words, he thought, were necessary from him to command that vote, as the fact that His Excellency had come there to preside over that Meeting at the tail end of a busy week was evidence of the great interest he took in the doings of that Society.

14. Mr. P. D. WARREN seconded.

15. HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR briefly acknowledged the vote of thanks.

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